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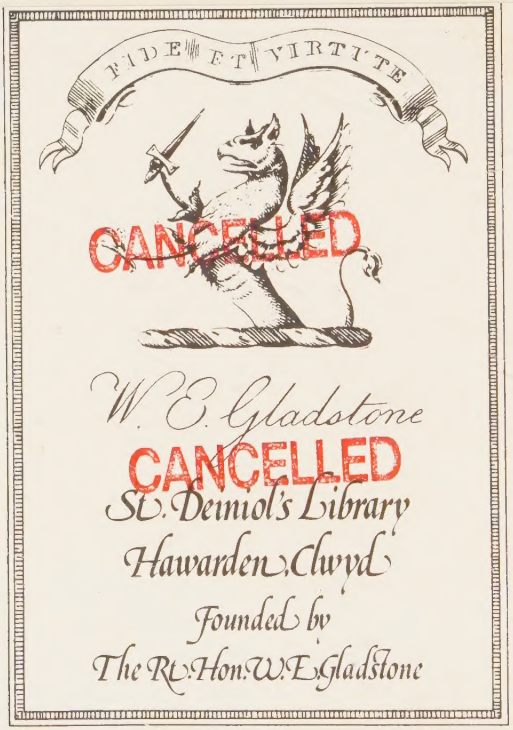
JUSTIN MARTYR
THE DIALOGUE WITH TRYPHO

A. LUKYN WILLIAMS, D.D.



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Translations of Christian Literature
Series I—Greek Texts

JUSTIN MARTYR
THE DIALOGUE WITH TRYPHO

JUSTIN MARTYR
THE DIALOGUE WITH TRYPHO

TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION, AND NOTES

BY

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Honorary Canon of Ely

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PREFACE

The *Dialogue* touches so many points of interest that it is impossible to consider them all in a popular work like the present. I have therefore restricted myself almost entirely (though not quite) to the primary object of Justin's treatise, the relation of Christianity to Judaism, in particular to the Judaism of post-Biblical times, endeavouring to illustrate this from Jewish sources.

In such illustrations I have not used the Apocrypha or the Pseudepigraphic writings, partly because these are now readily accessible to the English reader in the Oxford *Corpus,* and partly because Justin himself appears to have neglected all such books. The Jews with whom he disputed were evidently Palestinians, accustomed to the Hebrew Canon only, and to the arguments of those Jews who carried on the traditions of the Pharisees. It is therefore to the writings of these that we must look for illustrations. Their books indeed, with the exception of one or two portions, are not earlier than, or even contemporary with, Justin, especially in the form in which they have come down to us. But the Mishna, the Tosephta, some of the Midrashim, and the two Talmuds, besides the Targums, may fairly be considered as incorporating a great deal of matter coæval with him, or even earlier. For it is becoming increasingly probable that we can trust the authorship attributed by tradition to the sayings of the Rabbis. The later authorities I have almost entirely disregarded.

It has also seemed desirable to adduce from early *Antijudaica* many illustrations important either for their own sake, or for the light they throw on Justin's mode of thought.

The more the *Dialogue* is studied the deeper becomes the impression of the general accuracy of Justin's presentation of Judaism, as well as the width of his knowledge of it. The Treatise in fact implies a very much closer intercourse between Christians and Jews in the middle of the second century than has been commonly accepted. No doubt the fear of the influence of Jews on the one hand, and the desire to win them to Christ on the other, supply the reasons for the continual output of tracts and books dealing with the subject.

I am also not without hope that a perusal of the Introduction and Notes may lead to a better understanding on the part of Christians of to-day of the kind of problems which still face every one who attempts to present Christ to the Jews, and to a serious endeavour on the part of some earnest Christian who is trained in Jewish lore and customs to place our holy faith attractively before them. For it is a grievous blot upon the Christianity of our own day that hardly any effort has been made to set before Jews of western education such a defence of Christian truth as by its learning and philosophic mind may appeal to them. We have nothing in the twentieth century corresponding to the second century *Dialogue with Trypho*.

INTRODUCTION

I

JUSTIN MARTYR, WHAT IS KNOWN OF HIM?

1. *Before his conversion.*—He was the son of Priscus the son of Baccheius, and was born in Neapolis (Shechem, I. *Apol.* i. 1), about A.D. 100. He indeed claims the Samaritans as his own race (cxx. 6) but this was evidently on the score of locality only, because he was brought up as a heathen and was uncircumcised (xxix. 1, 3).

He describes himself as an earnest searcher after truth among the various philosophies of the time, Stoic, Peripatetic, Pythagorean, Platonic (ii. 3-6), until the day that, as he was meditating by the sea-side (iii. 1), he met one who showed him the unsatisfying character of philosophy as such (iii-vi), and bid him turn to the Bible, with prayer for a comprehension of such matters (vii). This he did, and he found that in the prophets and the friends of Christ was true philosophy. He adds, 'In this way and for these reasons am I a philosopher.' He then began to desire that all should find the truth, and know the Christ (viii. 1, 2).

2. *After his conversion.*—We know nothing about his baptism, and possess only scanty information about his life afterwards. But he felt very strongly the duty of imparting his knowledge of Scripture (lviii. 1), and his responsibility towards all with whom he came in contact (lxxxii. 3). In order that he might have more opportunities he continued to wear his philosopher's cloak

(i. 2), and he travelled widely. The scene of the *Dialogue* is laid, as it seems, at Ephesus (i. 1; ix. 3), and in the last chapter he tells us he is expecting to set to sea at once (cxlii. 2 *sq.*), probably for Rome, where he may have actually composed the *Dialogue* between 155 and A.D. 161, in any case after his first Apology (cxx. 5). He was in Rome twice (*Acts of Martyrdom,* iii, and lectured there, with Tatian for one of his hearers (Iren. *Adv. Haer.* I. xxvi (xxviii.); *cf.* Euseb., *Ch. Hist.* IV. xxix. 1), living over the Bath of one Martin the son of Timotinus (*Acts* iii). Crescens the Cynic appears to have plotted against him (Tatian, *Oratio,* xix; *cf.* Euseb. C. H. IV. xvi. 7; *Justin,* II *Apol.* iii), and many perhaps have been the direct cause of his martyrdom.

3. *His Martyrdom.*—A description of the trial of Justin and six others is given in the very simple and beautiful narrative of the *Acts of his Martyrdom.*[1] The seven Christians were brought before the Prefect Rusticus at Rome, and after some preliminary questions as to doctrine and personal hope, addressed to each, and in particular to Justin as evidently the leader and the most learned, they were directly bidden 'offer sacrifice with one accord to the gods' (§ v). On their refusal they were condemned to be scourged and decapitated, 'according to the usual course of the law.' The date seems to have been June 12, 163-167 A.D. Justin's brief confession of his faith before Rusticus (§ ii) is worth quoting, for it illustrates the *Dialogue*: 'Rusticus the prefect said, "What kind of tenets do you practise?" Justin said, "I have tried to learn all tenets, but I have come to agree with the true tenets of the Christians, though they please

[1] The original is given by Otto, after the disputed writings and the fragments, and an English translation may be found in T. & T. Clark's Antenicene Library in the same position.

not them that hold false opinions." Rusticus the prefect said, "Are those the tenets that please thee, thou wretched fellow?" Justin said, "Yes, for I pursue them with a right principle".[1] Rusticus the perfect said, "What kind of principle is it?" Justin said, "That we pay reverence to the God of the Christians, whom we hold to be the One from the beginning, the Maker and Framer of all creation, both visible and invisible; and the Lord Jesus Christ the Son (*or* Servant) of God,[2] who also has been proclaimed beforehand by the prophets as about to come to the human race as the herald of salvation, and the teacher of good disciples. And I, being a man, think that I can say but little with reference to His boundless Deity, and acknowledge that a kind of prophetic power is necessary for that, since it has been proclaimed beforehand of Him whom I just now spoke of as being the Son of God. For I know that the prophets spake of old concerning His appearance among men." '

II

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE *DIALOGUE*

1. *Doubts.*—Wetstein (N.T., 1751, *Proleg.*, p. 66), had doubts, because the quotations in the *Dialogue* from the O. T. agree not so much with the ordinary text of the LXX as with Origen's *Hexapla,* 'omitting

[1] δόγμα is not 'dogma' nor even 'doctrine' but the ruling principle in a philosophical system. See especially Seneca, *Ep.* 95 § 10 *'Nulla ars contemplativa sine decretis suis est, quae Graeci vocant dogmata, nobis vel decreta licet appellare vel scita vel placita';* and § 12, *'Hoc interest inter decreta philosophiae and praecepta, quod inter elementa et membra : haec ex illis dependent, illa et horum causae sunt et omnium.'* See also *Ep. Diognet.* v. 3.

[2] Justin does not mention the Holy Spirit : see lxv. 7, note.

what Origen marked with *obeli* [as not in the Hebrew] and adding words to which he appended asterisks [as being in the Hebrew though not in the ordinary text of the LXX but *in other versions*]'. . . . 'If Justin died before the version (*sic*) of Symmachus and Theodotion was issued, and preceded Origen by a whole century, how could he use his work?' If Wetstein's statement is strictly accurate, and the similarity to Symmachus and Theodotion is not due to the common use of current versions of Hebrew passages, it is still possible that an early copyist who used Origen's text modified Justin's, as copyists will do.[1]

Preuschen,[2] in a suggestive article, unfinished, alas, owing to his death, (1) argues that a comparison of subjects common (A) to the *Dialogue* (*a*) lxxvii. 2 *sq.*; (*b*) xxxiii. 1 *sq.*; (*c*) xci. 1; (*d*) xix, and Tertullian (*c.* A.D. 200.) (*a*) *Adv. Jud.* 9=*Adv. Marc.* III, xii. *sqq*; (*b*) *Adv. Marc.* V. ix; (*c*) *Adv. Jud.* 10=*Adv. Marc.* III. xviii; (*d*) *Adv. Jud.* 2, *and* (B) *to the Dialogue* (*a*) lxxii. 4; (*b*) c. 4; (*c*) cxxxiv. 3 and Irenaeus (*c.* A.D. 180); (*a*) III. xxii. 1 (xx. 4); (*b*) III. xxxii. 1 (xxii. 4), *cf.* Tert. *De Carne Christi* 17; (*c*) IV. xxxv. 3 (xxi. 3), shows that the author of the *Dialogue* used the writings of those Fathers. But he has greatly underrated the influence upon patristic writings exercised by the traditional system of interpreting of Old Testament texts, often embodied in little Books of Testimonies, and arguments deduced therefrom, which existed in the early Church[3]. (2) More serious is the fact that Damascus is said to have been apportioned to Syrophoenicia,[4] a

[1] On Justin's quotations *vide infra*, p. xxxiv.
[2] *Zeitschrift für die N. Tliche Wissenschaft.* 1920, pp. 102-127.
[3] See p. xxi.
[4] lxxviii. 10. Tert. *Adv. Jud.* 9 (? 197, A.D. 8) refers to the change.

change which does not seem to have been made before A.D. 194 in the reign of Septimius Severus.[1] This is certainly suspicious, but the clause stands in no close connexion with Justin's argument, and may easily have come in through a copyist's note. (3) The *Dialogue* says that pressure was put upon Christians to eat things sacrificed to idols,[2] and there is no evidence of this as an official act before A.D. 249. But it is hard to believe that actual participation in food consecrated to false gods was not required by popular feeling at quite an early date.

Bousset[3] regards the question of Justin's authorship from another angle. He thinks that Justin, in common with other travelling teachers of his time, had at his disposal earlier tracts, upon which he based his instruction of enquirers and others, and further, that he used some of these in the composition of the *Dialogue with Trypho*. Bousset thinks that nine such tracts of non-dialogue form, perhaps originally written by Justin himself, are to be found after chapter xxx. His number is based on his ninefold division of the subjects which Justin discusses from time to time. But he is able to show that at least one 'source', though spread over chapters in the *Dialogue* now distant from each other, contains peculiarities of diction.

Yet although there is no reasonable doubt about the authenticity of the *Dialogue* as a whole, in spite of the serious imperfections of the text, the treatise was strangely neglected, as is evident from the paucity of

[1] Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, 1873, i. 266.

[2] xxxiv. 8.

[3] In his illuminating work, *Jüdisch-Christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom*. 1915, pp. 282-308. He also refers to Ungern-Sternberg, *Der Schriftbeweis in der alten Kirche*, 1913, which the present writer has not been able to see.

quotations made from it, and of manuscripts containing it. One reason for this neglect may be that its theology left something to be desired from the point of view of theologians who lived after the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. We might have supposed that the subject was unattractive, if it were not that controversy with the Jews was unceasing, and that polemical writings against them were continually being issued.[1]

2. *Quotations from the Dialogue.*—Tatian (*c.* A.D. 120-185) was Justin's disciple, and one passage in the *Discourse to the Greeks,* v. resembles *Dial.* lxi. 2. But he did not necessarily use the *Dialogue* itself.

Tertullian (*c.* A.D. 160-245) in *Adv. Valent.* v. includes Justin among his authorities for his knowledge of the doctrines of Valentinus, but Justin does no more than mention the Valentinians in the *Dialogue* (xxxv. 6). Tertullian is doubtless referring to the much larger work *Against all the Heresies* of which Justin speaks in I *Apol.* xxvi. 8. The fact however that so many passages in Tertullian's writings have much in common with the *Dialogue* makes his use of it probable, though these may also well be attributed to a common source (*cf.* pp. xii. *sq.*; xxii).

Irenæus (*c.* A.D. 135-202) in both *Against Heresies* and the *Predicatio* has many of the thoughts and arguments that are in the *Dialogue.* But the remarks about Tertullian are applicable to Irenæus also.

Eusebius (A.D. 265-340) *Ch. Hist.* IV. xviii. 6-8, describes the *Dialogue* at some length, giving a brief summary of its introduction (ii-viii), making a quotation from xvii. 1, referring to the accusation that Jews

[1] The writers of the documents referred to on p. xxiii show no knowledge of the *Dialogue.*

mutilated Scripture, and to prophetical gifts in Justin's time (lxxxii. 1), and also to his statement that the Apocalypse was written by the Apostle (lxxxi. 4).

Jerome (*c.* A.D. 342-420) mentions the *Dialogue* in his account of Justin in his *De Viris Illust.* xxiii (Vallarsi, ii. coll. 863, 865), but appears to have derived his knowledge of it from Eusebius.

John of Damascus (died *c.* A.D. 749) says in his *Sacra Parallela*[1] 'From the second Discourse against Trypho. Every one who can say what is true and saith it not shall be judged by God,' an exact quotation from lxxxii. 3 which does in fact belong to the Second Day of the discussion. He also quotes as from the holy Justin's work against the Jews, 'There is neither confined space with God nor what cannot be counted.'[2] But this is not to be found in our present text. For the matter compare Iren. IV, vi. (iv. 2). And again, 'The soul is hard to bring back to those good things from which it slipped, and hard to bring out from those evil things to which it had become accustomed.'[3] Whether John quotes from the *Dialogue* directly, or only from selections from it made by an earlier writer, is doubtful, but the latter seems to be more in accordance with his usual custom.

Photius (*c.* A.D. 827-897) in his *Library* § 125[4] appears to have included it in Justin's *Apology for the Christians,* which is presumably the *Exposition of the True Faith* known by his name and existing in many MSS., but really composed later than the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, and before the death of Leontius in A.D. 543, who quotes it. The *Exposition* as such has no reference

[1] Holl, Fragmente vornicänischen Kirchenväter aus den *Sacra Parallela* (*Texte und Untersuchungen,* xx. 2. 1899, pp. 34 *sq.*).
[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 50 *sq.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] English translation, S.P.C.K. 1920, pp. 212 *sq.*

to Jews, and it is probable that the *Apologies* and the *Dialogue* were combined with it.

3. *Manuscripts.*—Only two MSS. are known, one in the National Library at Paris, written in 1364 (C), and the other at Cheltenham, written in 1541 (Ch.). They resemble each other so closely, faults and all, that they can at most be copies of the same MS., but there are good reasons for believing that one is copied from the other. Probably Ch. itself came from the Jesuit College at Clermont, and was actually copied from C. at Venice, after Pélicier, the French Ambassador (1539-1542) had obtained C. there in 1540. Such mistakes as the copyist himself made have generally been corrected by him, always in accordance with C. C. was perhaps written at Constantinople, possibly under the direct order of the ex-emperor John Cantacuzenus (who reigned A.D. 1341-1355), and may have been brought to Italy by John of Ragusa the papal nuncio about 1435.

Harnack compares those parts of the same MS. which consist of other treatises than the *Dialogue* with an earlier MS. of these (Arethas), and finds that the text of C. shows frequent signs of carelessness.[1] The presumption therefore is that this is also the case in the *Dialogue*. Our means therefore of determining the original text of the *Dialogue* are very limited, and careful conjecture, based upon historical probabilities and on language, is much more admissible than it is in many other ancient treatises.

4. *The present state of the text.*—i. The Dedication usual in the writings of the time is absent, but is presupposed by viii. 3 ('dear Friend') and cxli. 5 ('my dear friend, Marcus Pompeius'). It probably included the

[1] *Texte und Untersuchungen* I. 1. 1883, p. 77. He calls C. 'ein sehr sorglos und lüderlich geschriebener Codex.'

mention of Ephesus as the scene of the *Dialogue*, because of Eusebius' statement (see i. 1, note).

ii. The text of Scriptural quotations has sometimes been corrected to the form current in the copyists' times (cxx. 4, note). cf. *infra*, p. xxxiv.

iii. It is clear that there is also a lacuna about the end of lxxiv. 3, though there is no trace of this in the MSS. In lxxiii. 3, 4 Justin had quoted Ps. xcvi at length, and had argued in § 1 that the Jews had deliberately omitted part of *v.* 10, 'the Lord reigned from the tree.' In § 5 Trypho expresses his disbelief in such a statement, and in § 6 Justin defends it, adding in lxxiv. 1-3 the beginning of an elaborate exposition of the Psalm, closing with the words, 'even Him who died after He was crucified, and was deemed worthy by Him (God the Father) to reign over all the earth, as also by'. . . . Immediately upon these words follows in § 4 a reference to Deut. 31. 16-18, which has nothing to do with the subject. The exposition of Ps. xcvi is not continued either here or elsewhere. It is evident that something is missing.

The length however of the passage missing is quite uncertain, but probably it ran to some pages. It has indeed been argued that we have lost only a line or two, Justin not caring to continue his exposition of the Psalm, and adducing Deut. 31. 16-18, as another example of prophecy. Justin's argument would then be as follows: The fact that God had said that Messiah should reign from the wood 'over all the earth, as also throughout the *land into which* He said He would lead your fathers (is clear). Now He said thus, *This people will go a whoring after the strange gods of the land into which it is entering,' etc.* The omission would thus only be due to the eye of the copyist passing from the first 'land into

which' to the second. Justin will then continue his argument in lxxv, lxxvi, showing that God had promised to send One whose name was Jesus, and who became incarnate.

Yet although it may be granted that Justin does not always keep to his immediate subject, the fact that there is no further allusion to the accusation that the Jews had tampered with the Scriptures until cxx. 5 leaves the impression that there is something seriously wrong with the text of the *Dialogue* at this point. This is confirmed by the fact that the latter part of the *Dialogue* (lxxiv.4-cxlii) refers to earlier remarks of which no trace remains. Such are lxxix. 1 (the fall of the angels); lxxix. 4 (Justin says he has cited Zech. 3. 1, 2 and Job 1. 6); lxxx. 2 (Justin says he has already mentioned the fact that some Christians do not accept the doctrine of the Millennium); cv. 4 (Justin says he has already spoken about 1 Sam. 28. 7); cxlii. 1 (Trypho implies that he has already been told of Justin's impending voyage).[1]

Again, it is implied that what we may call for convenience the Second Part of the *Dialogue* took place on a second day. But there is no mention of the first day coming to an end, or of the meeting on the next. The relevant passages are as follows: lvi. 16, 'the day is advancing;' lxxviii. 6, 'I have already narrated to you, I said, that Isaiah proclaimed beforehand concerning this sign also with regard to the cave, yet, I added, because of those who have come with you to-day I will mention the chapter again'; lxxxv. 4, 'which I will mention also again because of those who were not present with us yesterday. . . . I say very briefly much of

[1] Similarly in lxvii. 5 there is a suggestion of an earlier lacuna. See note there.

what was already said yesterday'; *ibid.* 6, 'One of those who had come with them on the second day, called Mnaseas, said: We also are glad that you undertake to repeat your words again for us'; xcii. 5, 'That . . . . God appointed His commands concerning sabbaths and offerings, has already been shown by me in what I have already said. But because of those who have come to-day I think it well to repeat it almost all again'; xciv. 4, 'Then another of those who had come on the second day said,' etc.; cxviii. 4, 'And, Trypho, when I say this, I am endeavouring, as far as possible, to make the same statements over again for the sake of those who have come with you to-day'; cxxii. 4, 'Then some of those who had come on the second day cried out,' etc.; cxxxvii. 4, 'The day is already coming to an end, for the sun is already near setting.'

It is therefore fairly clear that when John of Damascus speaks of the 'second discourse against Trypho' (*vide supra,* p. xv) he, or the sources of his information, knew of a definite division in the treatise, which marked the end of the first day and the beginning of the second. Further, as so many subjects appear to have been contained in the original which are now absent from our book, probably many more than a few lines have been lost. The omission doubtless extends to some pages.

iv. On lx. 3 see note there. *Cf.* lxxix. 1 note; lxxxiii. 1 note; lxxxv. 1.

III

EARLIER EFFORTS TO PRESENT CHRIST TO THE JEWS

Very little appears to have been done by students of the history of Christian Apologetics in classifying the various attempts of Christians to present Christ to the

Jews. One reason for this neglect is the strange superstition that the Christians were wholly taken up with their own internal controversies, and had little interest in their Jewish neighbours. The facts are very different. The *Dialogue with Trypho* was not indeed the first of all, but it did come very early in the long series of polemical writings composed or translated in every century of the Christian era, well nigh in every decade, and in every part of the Christian world, including, at the least, Rome, North Africa, Upper Egypt, Eastern and Western Syria, Asia Minor, Gaul, and in the early and later middle ages, Spain, France, England. This is obviously not the place to speak of the greater number of these. But a few words about the work that was attempted earlier than Justin's seem to be necessary.

The nature of such work may be gathered from Harnack's remark[1] that, before the Church had any theology, the agreement between the Old Testament and the historical facts on which the new Society was founded, was almost the only theme to be considered. Further, as Christianity arose among the Jews, the early Christians had to face for themselves difficulties suggested by their former Jewish co-religionists, and in some cases by their own experience.

We must also bear in mind that whether a Christian in early days was of Jewish or Gentile origin he would have the same opinion as his fellow Christians about the value of the actual words and letters of the Old Testament. If Scripture was holy at all it was holy through and through, to its very letters. Shammai of Palestine, Philo of Alexandria, Tertullian of North Africa, were all agreed in this, however they interpreted the words.

[1] *Die Altercatio Simonis et Theophili*, p. 57 (*vide infra*, p. xxii).

And, further, as the very words and letters were from God they could be taken at their face value, and be used with the fullest freedom. (See also pp. xxxvii *sq.*).

1. *The Books of Testimonies.*—It has been suspected for many years[1] that there existed almost from the first, perhaps before the Gospels themselves were written, collections of texts from the Old Testament chosen for use in confirming the faith of believers, and in discussing it with Jews. The similarity in the texts used, in the arguments adduced from them, and in the order of quotation, which may be traced in many of the anti-Judaic treatises, and perhaps in the New Testament, have even led Dr. Rendel Harris and Mr. Vacher Burch[2] to argue that there was, in particular, one such Book which existed until the twelfth century. But this is quite improbable and the evidence points to only books which soon perished, the similarities being due to the accepted methods of using the Old Testament.

2. *The Epistle of Barnabas.*—The aim of this fiery little tract is to build up from Old Testament sources believers who were especially liable to be influenced by Judaism. It argues that God's covenant with the Jews is now abolished, that their laws were not given by God, that the Old Testament is full of prophecies about Christ and His work. But the temper of the author and his attitude to Judaism are very different from those which seem to be attributed to St. Barnabas in the Acts[3] and

[1] Hatch (*Essays in Biblical Greek*, 1889, p. 203) says that the Jews (in which term we may fairly include Christian Jews) who were 'carrying on an active propaganda, would have, among other books, manuals of morals, of devotion, and of controversy,' and it may be supposed, when we remember 'the contemporary habit of making collections of *excerpta*, and the special authority which the Jews attached to their sacred books, that some of these manuals would consist of extracts from the Old Testament.'

[2] *Testimonies*, I. 1916; II. 1920. [3] Acts 9. 27; 11. 19-26.

Galatians.[1] He is in fact wholly unknown. Neither is the date of the tract certain, but if xvi. 4 does refer to the attempted re-building of the Temple under Hadrian (as some critics imagine) it may be as late as A.D. 135.[2] Many of its arguments are to be found in the *Dialogue*, but this is no evidence that Justin used the tract itself.

3. *The Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus.*—Although this little *Dialogue* between Jason, a Hebrew Christian of Palestine, and Papiscus, an Alexandrian Jew, has not come down to us in its original form, its contents have probably been preserved in the Latin *Altercatio Simonis Judaei et Theophili Christiani* put forth by one Evagrius of Gaul in the beginning of the fifth century. The earlier *Dialogue* is attributed to Aristo of Pella by one Maximus in perhaps the seventh century. As this is in part confirmed by Eusebius his authorship is accepted by Harnack, and the date of the pamphlet is thought to be between A.D. 135 and 136.[3] Origen indeed, referring to Celsus' contemptuous remarks, speaks of it as fitted 'to strengthen the faith of the multitude of simple believers, but not adapted to impress those of a more intelligent mind'. Yet he also calls it 'a work in which a Christian is described as disputing with a Jew out of the Jewish Scriptures, and proving that the predictions regarding Christ fitly apply to Jesus.'[4] It is highly praised by one Celsus who appears to have lived in the fourth century.[5] It seems also to have been that common basis of the two later Dialogues, *Athanasius* and

[1] Gal. 2. 12 *sq.*

[2] Both the text of the passage and its meaning are quite uncertain.

[3] See Harnack, *Die Altercatio Sim. Jud. et Theoph. Chr.* 1883, pp. 116-119. Also Routh, *Reliq. Sacr.* i. 91-109.

[4] *c. Cels.* iv. 52.

[5] In this letter to a certain Bishop Vigilantius *About the Unbelief of the Jews*, § 8 (in Hartel's *Cyprian*, iii. p. 128).

Zacchaeus (early fourth century), and *Timothy and Aquila* (? fourth century), which was in the hands of Tertullian when he wrote against Praxeas.[1] Nothing is known of it directly since the seventh century.

4. The following writings against the Jews are indeed later than Justin in their present form, but may be mentioned partly because they show the importance attached by Christians to the presentation of the Gospel to the Jews, and partly because they all illustrate statements contained in the *Dialogue with Trypho,* and some, if not all, used sources which were at least as early as our book. Tertullian, *Adv. Judaeos* (A.D. 200-206), with which parts of his *Adv. Marcionem* are identical. Cyprian, *Testimonia,* Books I and II (A.D. 249, 250), almost solely a collection of texts. Aphraates 'The Persian Sage' (*c.* A.D. 285-345), *Homilies,* especially xviii, xix, xxi. The Arian Bishop of Hippo (*c.* A.D. 427), *Contra Judaeos,* Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lvii. 793-806.[2] Chrysostom, *Against the Jews* (*c.* A.D. 387). Gregory of Nyssa, died A.D. 395, *Adv. Judaeos,* in Zacagni. *Monumenta*[3] *Didascalia Jacobi,* A.D. 640, published by Bonwetsch in the *Abhandlungen der kön. Ges. d. Wiss. z. Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl. N.F. xii.,* in Greek, but translated into Ethiopic, Arabic, Syriac, Slavonic. An edition of the Ethiopic with a French translation is called *Sargis d'Aberga* in *Patrol. Orient.* iii (1909) and xiii (1919). Nau has published in viii, 1912 Part I of the Greek text underlying this, excerpting it from the MSS. used by Bonwetsch for his full form. *The*

[1] See F. C. Conybeare, *The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus and of Timothy and Aquila,* 1898, p. lv.

[2] This was formerly attributed to St. Maximus of Turin (*c.* A.D. 451.) A critical text may be found in J. Th. Stud. xx (1919), pp. 289-310.

[3] This is not by Gregory, but rather later.

Trophies of Damascus, c. A.D. 680, (Greek). *Patrol. Orient.* xv. Dionysius bar Salibi, Metropolitan of Amid (Diabekr), died Nov. A.D. 1171, *Against the Jews,* Syriac, ed. Zwaan, 1906. Not yet translated (1929). It is little more than a collection of texts.

IV

TRYPHO THE JEW

1. *How far is the Dialogue a report of a real discussion?*—The details of the meeting of Justin and Trypho, and of the emotions with which from time to time both they and Trypho's friends are moved, are related too naturally to be fictitious. But it is improbable that Justin would have remembered all that was said on either side, or would have refrained from introducing other points which occurred to him afterwards. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that, while making some one discussion with a Jew on the basis of his book, he made additions, out of the experience that he had had of innumerable other discussions on the same subject. He may also have used old notes of his own lectures, or even of his homiletical discourses to Christian friends. See p. xiii and xcvii. 3.

2. *The history and character of Trypho.*[1]

i. He was a Jew who had fled from the war in Palestine (i. 3, *cf.* ix. 3; xvi. 2 *sq.*; in cviii. 3 the city had been taken), and was 'spending much time in Greece and Corinth' (i. 3), though indeed at the moment he appears to have been in Ephesus. (i. 1 note.)

ii. *His culture.*—This was Gentile, for he says, 'I was taught in Argos by Corinthus of the school of Socrates' (i. 2). Yet he has some knowledge of Jewish

[1] On the name Trypho see i. 3 note.

arguments against Christianity, though he shows no evidence of having been trained in Rabbinic methods of interpretation. He distinguishes himself from 'our Teachers', as does one of his friends (xciv. 4), and includes himself among those whom they have warned against entering into discussions with Christians (xxxviii. 1).[1] He was therefore a 'layman' in Jewish lore, not at all 'a Jewish Rabbi', as Dr. Rendel Harris strangely calls him.[2] In any case he was not R. Tarphon (a very common name in Syria and Egypt), who belonged to the second generation of Mishna teachers (*c.* A.D. 90-130), and was an exceedingly learned man. R. Tarphon, it may be added, unlike our Trypho, was very bitter against the Hebrew-Christians.[3] Trypho also says that he does not argue in any captious spirit, but from a real desire to ascertain the truth (lxxxvii. 1). He was not very ready in repartee (xxiii. 2 *sq;* cf. cxxxvii. 3).

iii. *His manners.*—His manners are genial (i. 1, 2, 6), and much better than those of his friends (viii. 3; ix. 2 *sq.*, lvii. 4; lviii. 2; lxviii. 2; lxxxvii. 1; cxviii. 5; cxxii. 4; cxxiii. 7 *sq.*; cxlii. 1, 3). Yet he thinks Justin out of his mind (xxxix. 3), and accuses him of quoting only passages which suit his purpose (xxvii. 1). He loses his temper in lxxix. 1, and says that Justin's explanations are artificial, and even blasphemous. Yet he becomes very friendly at the end (cxlii. 1).

[1] *Cf.* also Justin's words in ix. 1; xxxviii. 2; xliii. 8; xlviii. 2; lxii. 2; lxviii. 7; lxxi. 1; lxxxiii. 1; cii. 5; cx. 1; cxii. 2, 4; cxiv. 3; cxvii. 4; cxxxiv. 1 *sq.*; cxxxvii. 2; cxl. 2; cxlii. 2.

[2] *Test.* i. p. 4. Eusebius, drawing upon his imagination, calls him 'a most distinguished man among the Hebrews of that day' (*Ch. Hist.* IV. xviii. 6).

[3] Strack, *Einl. in Talm. u. Midr.* 1921, pp. 125 *sq. Jew. Enc.* xii. 56 *sq.* It is possible that because he was a strong opponent his name was used by Justin as that of a typical antagonist, to cover the real name of Justin's friend.

It must, however, in fairness to Trypho be remembered that Justin himself was far from being always courteous. Though sometimes Justin is the more polite of the two (lxxix. 1 *sq.*), and says that Trypho's question is very sensible (lxxxvii. 1, 3), or only turns and looks steadily at him (cxxii. 5), apparently by way of reproof, he complains that Trypho goes back on his earlier admissions (lxvii. 4, 7; *cf.* cxxiii. 7), and even abuses Trypho roundly (lxiv. 2, *cf.* lxv. 2; lxvii. 3, 11). As a whole, however, the *Dialogue* is a very favourable example of the spirit in which religious controversies ought to be conducted. It is in this respect immeasurably superior to the majority of Christian polemical writings against the Jews, and indeed to very many writings of Christians who are discussing purely Christian doctrines. Yet 'a good theologian may be a good controversialist, though a good controversialist will never be a good theologian.'

3. *Trypho's arguments against Christianity.*—He gives a fair summary of Justin's argument about our Lord in xxxviii. 1.

i. He is, in general, strongly anti-Christian (viii. 3 *sq.*).

ii. He has studied the written Gospel, and finds the moral teaching of Jesus too high to be kept (x. 2).

iii. He objects to Justin's arguments about the Law.

(*a*) He asks whether Justin thinks that the Law unfits men for salvation (xlv. 1 *sq.*).

(*b*) He is surprised that Christians practise no external separation from the heathen (viii. 4; x. 3; xix. 1; xx. 2; xlvi. 2), and that Christians eat things offered to idols (xxxv. 1).

(*c*) He asks whether Christians are *allowed* to keep the Law, *e.g.* of Sabbath and circumcision (xlvi. 1-4; xlvii. 1), though he grants that some ceremonies enjoined in it cannot be observed outside Palestine.

(*d*) He and his friends are disturbed at Justin's saying 'We are even children of God' (cxxiv. 1), and that Gentile Christians claim to be Israel (cxxiii. 7; *cf.* xi. 5). They cry out that Isa. 42. 6 *sq.* refers to proselytes, and not to Gentile Christians (cxxii. 4). He even thinks Justin means that no Jew shall inherit anything in the holy mountain of God, but Justin replies that this depends on whether he repents or not (xxv. 6).

iv. He objects to the Incarnation.

(*a*) He says that this is incredible (lxviii. 1), and asks how Jesus can have had any pre-existence when He lacked the powers of the Holy Spirit at first (lxxxvii. 1 *sq.*)? He denies the Divinity of Jesus (xlviii. 1).

(*b*) It is like heathen tales (lxvii. 2).

(*c*) He asks for proofs (l. 1, *cf.* lv. 1 *sq.*; lvi. 9) that there is 'another God' (*cf.* lxv. 1), and that He was to be born of a virgin (lxiii. 1).

(*d*) He says that the meaning adduced by Justin from certain passages of Scripture is not to be found in them.

α. Gen. 18. (lvi. 1-5, 9).

β. Isa. 7. 14 (lxvii. 1; *cf.* lxxvii. 1).

λ. He is shocked at Justin saying that Jesus spoke to Moses (xxxviii. 1), *e.g.* at the

Bush, for He who was seen in the flame was an angel, and He who conversed with Moses was God (lx. 1, 3).

δ. Ps. 96. Trypho says it refers to the Father (lxxiv. 1).

ε Isa. 11. 1-3 (lxxxvii. 1 *sq.*).

ζ. Isa. 40. 1-17. 'All the words of the prophecy which, Sir, you adduce, are ambiguous, and contain nothing decisive in proof of your argument' (li. 1).

v. And to the Christian doctrine of the Messiah in general.

(*a*) Trypho says that Christians 'shape a kind of Messiah for themselves' (viii. 4), that Elijah must come first, and has not yet come (viii. 4; xlix. 1-6), for the spirit of Elijah was not in John the Baptist (xlix. 6). Messiah is to be born of the race of David (lxviii. 5), but to be only a man who is to *become* Messiah (xlix. 1; lxvii. 2).

(*b*) Even if Messiah is to suffer He cannot suffer by crucifixion (lxxxix. 2; xc. 1). *Cf.* xxix. 7; *vide infra,* p. 29. Besides, even if Messiah was to suffer in a first Advent, and was called a Stone, yet Justin must first prove that Jesus was He (xxxvi. 1).

(*c*) In any case we Jews have no need of Jesus (lxiv. 1), though Gentiles may acknowledge Him.

. *Trypho, however, accepts many of Justin's statements.*

i. *Such as bear on the subject generally.*—'All our race expects the Messiah, and we acknowledge that all the passages of Scripture which you have cited

have been spoken of Him' (lxxxix. 1). He grants also that Justin keeps close to Scripture, but he asks whether he is in earnest about the rebuilding of Jerusalem (lxxx. 1; *cf.* lvi. 16). It is right to look for a reason in God's commands (xxviii. 1), and the Law was, in fact, given because of the hardness of Israel's heart. It was indeed not necessary for salvation, as is seen by the case of the Patriarchs (lxvii. 7 *sq.*). Later prophets explained earlier sayings (lxviii. 7), and used parables and types (xc. 2). He grants that Justin's quotations urge him to accept his views, but desires more information about Isa. 7. 14 (lxxvii. 1; *cf.* lxv. 1; lxxxix. 1 *sq.*). He finally says, 'I acknowledge that I have been extraordinarily charmed with our intercourse, and I think that these (my Friends) are of like opinion with myself. For we have found more than we have expected, or than it was even possible for us to expect' (cxlii. 1).

ii. *Doctrines in more detail.*—Trypho expects One, who is great and glorious, and will take over the kingdom as the Son of man. 'But this your so-called Christ is without honour and glory,' and is cursed because crucified (xxxii. 1). Trypho allows that Justin does not mean that the other God says anything contrary to the mind of God of the universe (lvi. 12). He and his friends ('they') agree that 'that which is begotten is other in number than that which begets' (cxxix. 4; cxxx. 1). He accepts the statement that Christ must suffer, though he doubts whether Jesus is He (xxxix. 7; *cf.* lxxxix. 1 *sq.*; xc. 1).

iii. *Some Old Testament passages adduced by Justin.*—Trypho regards the 'Son of man' mentioned in Dan. 7. 13 as the Messiah (xxxii. 1). With regard to the 'three men' in Gen. 18. 2 he grants that God appeared to Abraham, though before the three 'men', who were

really angels, came (lvi. 4 *sq.*), but he afterwards acknowledges that they were *not* angels, though the passage does not show that there was another God (lvi. 9). Yet the third angel was God, and yet not the God in heaven, although His 'eating' causes doubts, if it be not metaphorical (lvii. 1, 3). As for lx. 3, see the note there.

He apparently accepts Justin's explanation of Isa. 42. 8, 'My glory will I not give to another' (lxv. 7). He grants that a new Covenant is foretold (lxvii. 9-11). Also that Isa. 11. 1-3 does refer to Messiah, but not to Jesus (lxxxvii. 1 *sq.*). A friend who had come on the second day says he can give no reason against Justin's interpretation of the Brazen Serpent, and neither could his teachers—'So say what you will, for we are paying heed to you as you reveal the mystery of things that cause even the precepts of the prophets to be attacked' (xciv. 4).

iv. Jesus may be recognized by Gentiles as Lord, Christ, God (lxiv. 1).

V

JUSTIN'S KNOWLEDGE OF POST-BIBLICAL JUDAISM

Was Justin qualified to conduct a controversy with a Jew? Had he sufficient knowledge of post-Biblical Judaism? For a knowledge of the Old Testament is not sufficient, patently so in our own day, and also in the second century. There had been serious modifications of the teaching of the Old Testament in the four or five centuries between Malachi and Justin. Was the

Christian controversialist sufficiently acquainted with them?[1]

1. It may be granted that in one very important particular Justin was not so qualified. He had no knowledge of Hebrew (lxviii. 7; ciii. 4 *sq.*; cxxv. 3; see lxxi. 1, note), and therefore could not refer to the Scriptures in their original form.

2. Again, for the same reason, Justin was unable to understand or appreciate the disputes between the representative Jewish Rabbis, as they discussed the meaning of Scripture among themselves, and endeavoured to apply its teaching to the needs of their own time. But it must not be forgotten that Justin does not profess to hold his controversy with a Hebrew-reading and Hebrew-speaking Jew. Trypho indeed had come from Palestine, as in fact had even Justin himself originally, but as Trypho seems to have known no Hebrew, and to have used the Old Testament in a Greek form, the two disputants were so far on equal footing.

3. But was Justin, the Gentile convert to Christianity, well acquainted with the Judaism that was known to Trypho and his companions? That a great deal of what he says may be illustrated from Jewish sources is undeniable, but what knowledge does he exhibit of Jewish post-Biblical practices, doctrines, and methods of exegesis, when he is directly referring to his opponents? His statements may be summarised under the following heads, but the reader is referred to the Notes on each passage for fuller information. As a rule only the earliest passage in each case is given here.

[1] E. Preuschen thinks his information very inaccurate. 'Es ist nicht gut getan, seine Aussagen über jüdische Auslegungen unbesehen hinzunehmen. Woher er sie bezogen hat, ist nicht mehr auszunehmen. Aber es scheinen vielfach recht trübe Quellen zu sein, aus denen er schöpfte' (*Z.N.T.W.* 1920, p. 111).

i. *Jewish post-Biblical practices.*—Cursing Christians in the synagogues (xvi. 4). The Jewish Rabbis bid their followers not to hold discussions with Christians (xxxviii. 1). Details about the scape-goat (xl. 4). The Septuagint is read at the service in the Synagogue (lxxii. 3). It is allowable to have more than one wife (cxxxiv. 1).

ii. *Jewish post-Biblical doctrines.*—The Messiah is perhaps already on earth, but if so He is unknown (viii. 4). Details about the relation of Elijah to the Messiah (viii. 4). Observe that the statement that Trypho, though a Jew, had read the Gospel (x. 2) is corroborated by similar statements about other Jews of the second century. The Jews are sure of salvation, as being Abraham's seed (xliv. 1). Gentiles need Christ, but not Jews (lxiv. 1). Scripture regards Messiah as only a human being (lxviii. 4 *sq.*). Messiah was to suffer (lxviii. 9). Jesus was a magician and a deceiver (lxix. 7). The very letters of Scripture are important (lxx. 5; *cf.* lxxv. 1 *sq.*). Why should the Jews be blamed for the death of Jesus when He came in order to be offered as a sacrifice (xcv. 3; *cf.* cii. 3)? The proselyte is regarded as one 'native-born' (cxxiii. 1).

iii. *Jewish post-Biblical methods of exegesis.*—Observe the order in which Justin sometimes quotes passages of Scripture, *viz.* Hagiographa, Prophets, Law, *i.e.* in ascending order of importance (xxix. 2). Trypho is said to accept the 'Son of man' in Dan. 7. 13 as Messiah (xxxii. 1). Ps. 24 is understood of Solomon (xxxvi. 2). The interpretation of Gen. 18. 2; 19. 1 (lvi. 5). The question how one of the angels could be God when he ate (lvii. 2). Both an angel and God were at the Bush (lx. 1). The interpretation of Gen. 1. 26 (lxii. 2 *sq.*), of Isa. 42. 8 (lxv. 1), of Isa. 7. 14 (lxvii. 1;

cf. lxxxiv. 1). The camels (cxii. 4). The alterations in the names of Abram and Sarai (cxiii. 2). Isa. 49. 6 refers to strangers and proselytes (cxxii. 1).

iv. *Justin's apparent errors.*—Yet in some particulars the strict accuracy of Justin's statements may be questioned. He says that selected men were sent out to speak against Christianity (xvii. 1); that the Jews thought it 'shocking that we drink hot water on the sabbaths' (xxix. 3); that *scarlet* dye is used for Tsitsith (xlvi. 5, but see note there). His statements also about Jewish sects are strange, but the fact that it required very little acquaintance with Jews to know their inaccuracy suggests that there is some misunderstanding, or perhaps some corruption in the text (lxxx. 4). He says that Ps. 22 was not interpreted of the Messiah (xcvii. 4), and he is doubtless right in saying so of his own day, but it is so interpreted in the *Yalqut*. He says that the Jews say God 'has hands and feet and fingers and soul like a compound living creature, and even for this reason do they teach that the Father Himself was seen of Abraham and of Isaac' (cxiv. 3).

Of these the first two are deductions, and may be literally correct as facts. On the third see the note. The last is at first sight the most serious, but the note suggests that Justin may have had good reasons for his statement.

Yet, after making all possible allowance for the existence and importance of these 'errors', we must grant that Justin had at least a good working knowledge of post-Biblical Judaism, a knowledge superior to that of most polemical writers against the Jews, and infinitely greater than that of the majority of even learned clergy to-day. He therefore was quite justified in entering into

controversy with a Jew, especially one who himself possessed no Rabbinic or Hebrew knowledge at first hand.

Additional Notes.

A. In xiv. 3 Justin seems to make a mistake about a Biblical ordinance as to leaven; in xxxiii. 2 about Abraham being already circumcised when he met Melchizedek; in xxxiv. 8 about Solomon practising idolatry in Sidon; and in lxxxvi. 5 about willows. But these are mere slips, comparable to his occasional inaccuracy in his references to Biblical authors (see xiv. 8, note). On a supposed confusion between Herod Antipas and Herod the Great in lii. 3, see note. See also cxiii. 3.

B. *Justin's text of the Septuagint.*—This often varies from the text adopted by Dr. Swete. See in particular xiii. 2-9; xxxi. 2-7; lxviii. 7; lxxxiv. 3; cxiii. 6; cxx. 4; cxxiv. 2; cxxxi. 1; cxxxxvii. 3. The electric character of Justin's text may be due in part to the various localities in which he used his materials. He also seems to have had before him texts afterwards adopted by Symmachus or Theodotion, *vide supra* p. xii. On his use of some interpolations see lxxii. 1 *sq.* and lxxiii. 1. On the whole subject see Swete, *Introduction to the O. T. in Greek,* 1900, pp. 417-424 (verbally identical in the second edition, 1914). Even where Justin seems to know Aquila (Isa. 7. 14, lxxxiv. 1 note) Rahlfs thinks he was only using interpretations current among the Jews he met (*Z.N.T.W.* 1921, p. 197). *Cf. supra* p. 16. See xvii. 3; lxxvi. 5; lxxxi. 4; lxxxviii. 7; cvi. 3; c. 1; ci. 2; ciii. 6.

The question of various readings in Justin's quotations from the New Testament cannot be entered upon here. See xvii. 3; lxxvi. 5; lxxxi. 4; lxxxviii. 7; xcvi. 3; c. 1; ci. 2; ciii. 6.

VI

THE CONTENTS OF THE *DIALOGUE*

As the Dialogue stands it contains, A. i-ix, Prologue. B. x-xlvii. The abrogation of the Law, and the inauguration of the promised New Covenant. C. xlviii-cviii. Jesus is the promised Messiah. D. cix-cxxxvi, Christians are the true Israel. E. cxxxvii-cxlii, Epilogue. But in B, C, D, no hard and fast line is observed. It is therefore convenient to indicate the contents more exactly, and to endeavour to arrange them by subject matter. It is however impossible to make a really systematic arrangement, without such a minute subdivision of chapters as would defeat its purpose, for often several items are considered together. Hence the arrangement here presented indicates only the chief subject of each chapter.

Prologue i-ix.

1. How the discussion arose.

2. Justin's past history.

3. What Jews require of Justin, viii. 3.

4. A summary of many Jewish difficulties in accepting Christianity, x.

I. *The question of the permanence of the Law.*

1. The O.T. itself looks forward to the Law being superseded, xi-xv.

2. Various ordinances of the Law considered, xviii.-xxix; xl-xlii; xliii. 1 *sq.*; xliv-xlvi; xcii-xciv.

II. *The Messiah, according to the evidence of the O.T.*

1. The two Advents, xxx-xxxiv; xxxvi-xxxix; lxxxv; *cf.* cix-cxi.

2. The pre-existence of the Messiah, and His Divine nature, xlviii; liv-lxii (see also at this point cxxvi-cxxix); lxiv, lxv; lxxv; lxxxiii.

3. His life on earth.

[*N.B.*—A. Justin is repeatedly asked to prove that Jesus was the Messiah foretold (*e.g.* xxxix. 7; lvii. 3), but nowhere does he do so in so many words. He is content to indicate the similarity of O. T. predictions of the Messiah to events in Jesus' life.

B. He speaks of mutilations of the original Scriptures by the Jews, lxxi-lxxiii; lxxiv. 1-3.]

i. The coming of Elijah, xlix-li.

ii. The Virgin Birth.

a. Not to be compared with heathen myths, lxix; lxx.

b. Prophecies in the O.T. xliii. 3-8; lxiii; lxvi-lxvii. 2; lxviii; lxxvi-lxxviii; lxxxiv.

iii. The Holy Spirit descends upon Him at His Baptism, lxxxvii; lxxxviii.

iv. His humiliation generally. Also there is no Jewish king after Him, lii; liii.

v. His crucifixion, lxxxvi; lxxxix-xci; xcv-cvi.

vi. His resurrection, cvii; cviii.

III. *On certain beliefs held by Christians.*—

1. The Millennium, lxxx; lxxxi.

2. False Christians, xxxv; lxxx. 3; lxxxii.

3. Christians who observe the Law, xlvii; lxvii. 3-11.

4. Evil angels, lxxix.

IV. *Gentiles and Jews.*—

1. The call of the Gentiles, cix-cxi; cxv-cxxv; cxxx.

2. Jews and their behaviour, xvi; xvii; cxii-cxiv; cxxxi-cxxxvi.

Epilogue—

1. Justin's appeal and his summary of his argument, cxxxvii-cxli.

2. Farewell, cxlii.

VII

THE PRACTICAL VALUE OF THE *DIALOGUE*

Times have changed. In contending for our Faith to-day the sword we chiefly use is the character and personality of our Lord Jesus Christ. In earlier ages it was rather His miracles, and earlier still the predictions concerning Him which were found in the Old Testament. But we no longer regard the Old Testament with the same eyes as Justin and his numberless successors. It is to us no mere arsenal of Divine utterances, from which we may seize this or that weapon as it happens to come, that with it we may smite the head, or pierce the heart, of our Jewish opponents. It has become to us no collection of instruments, nor even one elaborate mechanism, but rather a living growth, each of whose parts, branches, leaves, and cells, stands in a vital connexion with the rest. If we would use any for weapons or for medicines we must consider them in relation to the whole, not as separate and independent utterances of an arbitrary Creator (this may be good enough for a Qoran), but as the manifestations of His will and power wrought through means which He has appointed, modified, and developed. The Old Testament has grown with a growth which does not permit of any portion of it being used capriciously, even for the best of purposes.

In other words, no phrase of the Old Testament can be torn from its context, except with the express statement that it is so torn, and the acknowledgment that its

meaning cannot be severed from its place in history. To say this is not to deny the majesty of the Divine which is innate to it. It only limits the work of that Majesty to the direction which He gave it at the first.

Justin, however, like his contemporaries and his successors, and all the Jews until our own day, knew nothing of this, and had no scruple in using texts just as he found them, if they but verbally suited his purpose. Not that he, or others, made no attempt to show that the meaning adduced was indeed that of the context. This was common enough with him. He argues, for example, *from the context*, that the Person with whom Abraham spoke before the destruction of Sodom was not the Father and yet was God, and was indeed the very Logos Himself (lvi). This is one case out of many.

Yet Justin had no historical sense. He did not understand that God was revealing Himself very slowly, and that He could not, humanly speaking, have made known to the Jews that full brightness of His presence which was afterwards manifested in His Incarnate Son.

Justin knew that he must base his teaching on the Old Testament, and there we agree with him. We say that the New Testament, if considered alone, hangs in the air like Mahomet's coffin, and Christ Himself appears like a meteor, touching this earthly atmosphere and passing out beyond, unforeseen, and unprepared for. But though Justin rightly saw that the New Testament rested upon the Old, He was too fond of dragging the foundation stones out of their proper place, and of endeavouring to use them as integral parts of the higher structure.

We regard things differently from Justin. The Old Testament is for us the heir of all the ages that preceded it. Its writers were steeped in sacred lore dating from

prehistoric times. They incorporated the best of what they found. They purified religious customs. They improved social laws. This they did in accordance with the suggestions of the Holy Spirit. For He was ever with them, guiding, exhibiting, selecting. Yet He was also placing in their hearts, and still more in their words (though all unknown to them) adumbrations of the future, and principles of which the full force was to be apparent only in the light of the cross, the resurrection, and the triumph of Christ. In short, the writers of the Old Testament were so guided that although it never rises to be wholly Christian, but remains at an inferior level, it is still the basis, though only the basis, of New Testament truth.

We ourselves however are in grave danger of minimising the Divine side of inspiration, and of supposing that the choice of words in Old Testament writings had no higher object than to please the ear, and strengthen the imagery. Yet was it, for example, by accident that the prophet spoke of Messiah riding upon an ass (Zech. 9. 10), or that the sufferings of a Psalmist became a strangely accurate 'forecast' of the circumstances of Messiah's death? In other words, do not Justin's arguments lead us rightly to attribute more weight to what some would call 'undesigned coincidences' between the Old Testament and the New than our scientific education inclines us generally to give? We dare not exaggerate the work of God the Holy Ghost, and say He merely dictated Holy Scripture; we equally dare not put limits to His work of preparation for the Gospel. The modern reader of the *Dialogue*, and of other early arguments for our religion drawn from the prophecies of the Old Testament, will do well to bring to his task not only the scholarship, but also the piety

of his time, the reverent acknowledgment of the Divine foreknowledge, and the probability that part of God's preparation of a people for the coming of the Messiah would consist of the formation of an expectation of that coming, grounded on truths already made known. We often cannot accept the methods of our predecessors. But we may well pray for their spiritual insight.[1]

[1] Mr. W. Maurice Pryke has given in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April 1923, pp. 103-131, a very valuable collection of references, showing how much the writers and speakers of the New Testament relied on the Old Testament for the proof of their claim that Jesus was the Messiah. He further shows, however, that ultimately the faith of the disciples did not rest on such quotations, but on their personal knowledge of the Saviour. Possessing this, they found innumerable incidents and principles in the Old Testament, which (as we should say) were exemplified at their highest in Christ.

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TRANSLATION AND NOTES

THE *DIALOGUE* OF ST. JUSTIN, PHILOSOPHER AND MARTYR, WITH TRYPHO A JEW

I

1. As I was walking one early morning in the cloisters of the Colonnade[1] a man met me, with others round him, and said, Good morning, Philosopher. And so saying he turned, and began to walk along with me, and his friends too turned with him. And I in reply addressed him and said: What may be your pleasure?

2. He answered: I was taught in Argos by Corinthus of the school of Socrates[2] that one must not despise nor ignore those that wear this dress[3] you have on, but

[1] *the colonnade.*—Cf. ix. 3. Presumably at Ephesus (Euseb. *Ch. Hist.* IV. xviii. 6). If so, T.'s reference to Greece and Corinth (§ 3) cannot be pressed. Apollonius of Tyana held discussions there (Philostratus, *Life,* iv. 2; viii. 26).

[2] *of the school of Socrates.*—Although the study of Greek philosophy was not popular with Pharisaic scholars the opinion that it was ultimately of Jewish origin (*cf.* vii. 1 note; Josephus, *c. Apion.* i. 22) must have encouraged many, especially Hellenistic, Jews to learn it.

[3] *this dress.*—Philosophers affected for their outer garment a square or oblong woollen blanket (*tribōn, pallium*), often so frayed that its wearers felt they were playing the Spartan, with whom was its original home. Tertullian's *De Pallio* is an amusing skit, in which the *pallium* extols its own virtues over the *toga* (which had the shape of a segment of a circle) of the ordinary layman. When philosophers became Christians they retained their garb because it gave them opportunities for conversation. So Eusebius speaks of J. wearing this 'guise of a philosopher' (*Ch. Hist.* IV. xi. 8), and also of Heraclas' practice after his conversion VI. xix. 14). It appears to have been the origin of monastic dress.

should treat them with absolute courtesy, and converse with them, in the hope that some gain may accrue from such intercourse either to him or to oneself. For it is well for both if either be benefited. For this reason, whenever I see anyone in such a dress, I gladly draw nigh to him, and therefore had now the pleasure of addressing you. And these are followers and companions of mine, and themselves anticipate hearing some profitable discourse from you.

3. 'And who art thou, thou boldest man of mortal birth?[1] said I in jest. He told me frankly both his name and his nationality. I am called Trypho,[2] he said, and I am a circumcised Hebrew, who have fled from the war which broke out recently,[3] and am spending much time in Greece and in Corinth.

How then, said I, could you derive so much advantage from philosophy, as from your own lawgiver and your prophets?

What do you mean? Do not the philosophers discourse entirely about God, he went on to say, and hold their discussions invariably about supreme government and providence? And is not this the business of philosophy, to make enquiries into the nature of divinity?

[1] *Iliad* vi. 123. *cf.* xv. 247.

[2] *Trypho.*—Not an uncommon name; Ptolemy's jester (Josephus, *Antt.* xii. iv. 9), a Syrian officer (1 Macc. 11. 39 *al*), Herod's barber (Josephus, *Antt.* XVI. xi. 6), a Jewish envoy sent to Claudius A.D. 45 (Josephus, *Antt.* XX. i. 2). It is also the Greek form of the Semitic name Tarphon, and some scholars have carelessly identified the T. of the *Dialogue* with the learned, and even fanatical, Mishna teacher R. Tarphon who died about A.D. 120. See Introd. IV, pp. xxiv-xxx.

[3] *the war which broke out recently.*—Cf. ix. 3; xvi. 2. If this phrase may be pressed the discussion with T. is placed by J. in A.D. 132 or a little after. The war was over in A.D. 135. In xvi. 2 *sq.* however it is implied that if the war was not over it had been waged long enough for great misery to come on Palestine. In cviii. 3 Jerusalem is already taken.

4. Yes, I said, we ourselves certainly have thought so. But here is a point which the great majority of philosophers have not taken into consideration, whether there be one or even several gods, and whether they exercise providence over each of us or not, as though this knowledge did not contribute anything unto happiness. On the contrary, they even endeavour to persuade us that while God cares for the universe and even for races and species, yet (He cares) no further for you and me and for the individual. For, if He did, should we not be praying to Him all day and night?

5. But how this theory finally works out for them, is not difficult to understand. For (if there be no providence) there is no sense of responsibility, and there is freedom to say this, and to follow those who think it, and, both to do and to say whatever they choose, neither fearing punishment nor expecting any good from God. How can it be otherwise? For they say that things will always remain as they are, and further, that you and I shall live again as we are living now, without having become either better or worse. But some others,[2] premising that the soul is immortal and incorporeal, think that even if they have committed any wrong they will suffer no punishment (for the incorporeal is incapable of suffering), and again, as the soul itself is (by its nature) immortal, they have no further need for God.

6. Then he said, smiling courteously, But pray tell us what are your own thoughts about these things, and what opinion you hold about God, and what is your own attitude as a philosopher.

[1] *the great majority.*—Most philosophers were content to speak of the Divine in contrast to mere matter, without further enquiry whether it was properly one and personal, or not.

[2] *some others.*—Among the Platonists, v. 1.

II

1. I will tell you, said I, what at least seems plain to me. For in reality philosophy is a very great advantage, and most precious in the sight of God, to whom, by its own intrinsic worth, it leads us and commends us. And they who have applied their minds to philosophy are in truth holy. What however philosophy is, and for what reason it was sent down to men, has escaped the notice of most people. For otherwise there would not be Platonists or Stoics, or Peripatetics, or Theoreticians,[1] or Pythagoreans, this system of knowledge being a unity.

2. But the reason why it has become a hydra of many heads I should like to explain.

It happened that they who first handled philosophy, and for this reason became famous, were followed by men who made no investigation about truth, but were only amazed at their patience and self-restraint and their unfamiliar diction, and supposed that whatever each learned from his own teacher was true. And then they, when they had handed on to their successors all such things, and others like them, were themselves called by the name borne by the originator of the teaching.

3. So at first, as I myself had the same desire[2] to come into contact with one of these, I put myself into the hands of a certain Stoic, and as, after I had spent a fair time with him, I got no further with respect to God (for he did not know himself and he was continually saying that this learning was not necessary) I withdrew from

[1] *Theoreticians.*—Perhaps the Sceptics (fifth century B.C onwards), who doubted the possibility of attaining absolute knowledge. *Pythagoreans,* see § 4, note.

[2] *I myself had the same desire.*—See J.'s experience of various teachers as stated in his defence before Rusticus at his martyrdom (*vide supra* Introd., p. x).

him, and came to another, called a Peripatetic, a sharp fellow, as he supposed. And after bearing with me for a few days he thought that I ought to fix his fees, that our intercourse should not be without profit to us! So for this reason I left him, for I did not think that he was a philosopher at all.

4. But as my soul was still painfully full of desire to hear the special note and the supreme excellence of philosophy, I addressed myself to a Pythagorean[1] of great reputation, a man who devoted much thought to wisdom. Whereupon, as I began conversation with him, desiring to be one of his hearers and associates, 'Well,' he said, 'have you paid attention to music and astronomy and geometry? For surely you do not suppose that you will get a clear vision of any of the things that contribute to happiness, if you were not first taught those which will draw the soul away from the visible, and make it fit for the intellectual, so that it may have a clear vision both of the noble and the good as they are in themselves?'

5. And when he had greatly praised these branches of learning, and had insisted on the necessity of them, he dismissed me, for I confessed to him that I knew them not. I felt vexed therefore, as might be supposed, at being thus disappointed of my hope, and the more so as I thought he did know something. Reckoning also once more the time I should have to spend on those subjects, I could not bear to put things off so long.

[1] *a Pythagorean.*—The advice of the Pythagorean was like that of Origen, for 'when he perceived that any persons had superior intelligence he instructed them also in philosophic branches—in geometry, arithmetic and other preparatory studies—and then advanced to the systems of the philosophers and explained their writings' (Eusebius, *Ch. Hist.* VI. xviii. 3).

6. Now in my distress I thought it well to have recourse to the followers of Plato, for their reputation also was high. Accordingly I had as much intercourse as I could with an intelligent man, a leading man among the Platonists, recently come to live in our city,[1] and I was making good progress, advancing more and more every day. I was quite enraptured with the perception of immaterial things, and the contemplation of ideas added wings[2] to my intelligence, and within a short time I supposed I had become wise, and in my obtuseness was hoping to have forthwith a clear vision of God. For this is the aim of Plato's philosophy.

III

1. When I was in this state of mind I thought it well to take my fill of solitude, and to 'shun the busy haunts of men'[3] and so I went off to a spot not far from the sea. Now when I had come near the very place I intended to reach, and hoped to be quite alone, a venerable and elderly person, followed me somewhat closely. He was of an aspect which invited anything but contempt, giving, as it did, the impression of a kindly and grave disposition. I turned back towards him, and standing still looked at him rather keenly.

2. 'Do you know me?' said he. I said that I did not. 'Why then,' he said to me , 'do you gaze at me in this

[1] *in our city.*—Hardly Nablous, *Flavia Neapolis*, where J. was born (I *Apol.* I), because that city is at some distance from the sea (iii. 1). No doubt Ephesus is intended, as being the scene of the present discussion, and common ground to both J. and T.

[2] *added wings.*—a Platonic phrase; e.g. *Phaedrus* 249. D. *cf.* Tatian, *ad Graec.* XX.

[3] *shun the busy haunts of men.—Iliad.* vi. 202.

fashion?' 'I am surprised,' said I, 'that you happened to be in the same place as myself. For I did not expect to see anyone here.' 'I am anxious,' he said, 'about some members of my household. They have gone away from me, and therefore I have come to see after them myself, on the chance of their putting in an appearance somewhere. But you—what are you doing here?' He added.

'I like', said I, 'spending time in this way, for my talks with myself are unhindered, and such spots as these are very advantageous for rational meditation.'

3. 'Are you then a kind of student of reason,' he said, 'and not at all a student of action, nor a student of truth, and do not try to show wisdom in practice more than in theory?'

'Yet what better act,' I said, 'could any one perform than this, to shew forth reason as the governor of all things, and grasping it, and carried along by it, to have a clear vision of the errors of others and their habits, and how they do nothing sound or pleasing to God. But without philosophy and right reason none can possibly have practical wisdom. Therefore every human being ought to study philosophy, and deem it the greatest and most valuable act of all, putting all other things in the second and third place. For, if they are made dependent on philosophy, they are of some value and worthy of acceptation, but if deprived of it, and lacking its accompaniment, they are, for those who pursue them, only burdensome and vulgar.'

4. 'It is philosophy then that produces happiness?' he replied. 'Most certainly', I said, 'and it alone'.

'Well, what is philosophy,' he says, 'and what is the happiness produced by it? Tell me, if there is nothing to prevent your doing so.'

'Philosophy,' said I, 'is the science of reality and the knowledge of truth; and happiness is the reward of this science and wisdom.

5. 'And what do you yourself call God?' he said.

'That which is ever the same in being and in manner of being, and is the cause of existence to all else—this of a certainty is God.' Such was my answer, and he was pleased with my words, and so he asked me another question.

'Is not science (skill) a name common to different things? For in all the arts he that has skill in any one of them is called skilful, for example, in military matters, navigation, and medicine. But in things that concern the divine and the human it is not so. Is there a science that affords cognizance of the human and the divine, and then cognition of the divinity and righteousness of the latter?'

'Certainly,' I said.

6. 'Well then, is the knowledge of man and God similar to that of music, arithmetic, astronomy or anything of that sort?'

'Not at all,' I said.

'Then you did not answer me rightly,' said he. 'For the former come to us as the result of learning, or of some expenditure of time, while the latter give skill by sight. If one were to tell you that there is in India an animal different in nature from all others, and of such and such appearance, of many forms and many colours, you would have no knowledge of it before seeing it, and could not even give any account of it unless you had heard from some one who had seen it.'

7. 'Certainly not,' I say.

'How can it be then,' he said, 'that philosophers can either think or say anything true about God, when they

have no sound knowledge (science) of Him, for they have neither ever seen Him or heard from any one who has.'

'Yet it is not with the actual eyes, my Father,' said I, 'that the divine is to be seen, as in the case of all other living beings,[1] but He is to be grasped by the mind alone, as Plato says, and with him I agree.'

IV

1. 'Has then our mind,' he says, 'power of such quality and such strength, or could one grasp Him more quickly by perception of the senses? Or can man's mind ever see God if it be not beautified by the Holy Spirit?'[2]

'Yes, for Plato says,'[3] I replied, 'that the eye of the mind is itself of such a kind, and has been given us for this purpose, that we are able by that pure eye unaided to see clearly that very thing, BEING, which is the cause of all things that are within the province of understanding, and has no colour, no shape, no size, no anything that eye can see. But this very BEING, he says,[4] a BEING beyond all essence, not to be expressed in words, nor to be described, but alone noble and good, is suddenly implanted within well-born souls because of their kinship with It and their longing to behold It.'

2. 'What kinship then,' said he, 'have we with God? Or is also the soul divine, and immortal, and part of that sovereign mind of which you speak? And as this sees God, can we also thus attain to grasp the divine

[1] *all other living beings.*—For the inclusion of God among the *Zōa* see Plato, *Tim.*, p. 77 B.

[2] *by the Holy Spirit.*—Iren. *adv. Haer.* IV. xxxiv. 6 (xx. 6).

[3] *for Plato says.—Phaedo.*, p. 65 E. 66 A.

[4] *he says.*—Plato *Rep.*, p. 509 B. 'though the good, far from being identical with real existence, actually transcends it in dignity and power' (Davies and Vaughan).

with our own mind, and thenceforward at once enjoy happiness?'

'Assuredly,' I said.

'Then have all the souls throughout all living things capacity for it, or is there one soul of man, and another of horse and ass?'

'No,' I answered, 'the same souls are in all.'

3. 'So then,' he says, 'even horses and asses will see God, or did see Him at some time or other?'

'No,' I said, 'nor even most human beings, but only one who were to spend his life aright, cleansing himself by righteousness and every other virtue.'

'So,' said he, 'it is not for his kinship that he sees God, nor because he is mind, but because he is temperate and righteous.'

'Yes,' I said, 'and because he has that wherewith he can intelligently perceive God.'

'But, in that case, do goats or sheep act unjustly towards any one?'

'Not at all, towards any one,' said I.

4. 'So according to your argument,' he says, 'even these animals will see?'

'No, for their body, being what it is, hinders them.'

'If these animals received the power of speech,' said he in reply, 'be assured that they would much more reasonably find fault with our body. But let us now leave it at that, and let what you say be granted. But tell me this: Does the soul see while it is in the body, or when it is released therefrom?'

5. 'Even while it is in human form,' I say, 'it is possible for this to happen to it through the mind, but chiefly when it is set free from the body, and is by itself alone, does it acquire that which it was passionately desiring all the time with all its heart.'

'Would you say then that it remembers this vision of God when it is again in a man?'

'I hardly think so,' I said.

'Then what advantage have the souls that once saw, or what more has he who saw than he who saw not, if he does not remember this bare fact that he saw God?'

6. 'I cannot tell,' I answered.

'And the souls judged unworthy of this vision—what do they suffer?' said he.

'They are enfettered within certain bodies of wild beasts, and this is their punishment.'

'Do they know then that this is the cause of their being in such bodies, and that they committed some sin?'

'I do not suppose so.'

7. 'Then they do not even gain any advantage from the punishment, as it seems, and I should not say that they are even punished, if they do not apprehend it as punishment.'

'Certainly not.'

'Then the souls neither see God, nor migrate into other bodies. For they would know that they are being punished in this way, and would be afraid to commit even the slightest sin afterwards. But that they can understand that there is a God, and that righteousness and piety are good, I too agree,' he said.

'You are right,' I replied.

V

1. 'Those philosophers then know nothing about these things, for they cannot even tell us what sort of thing the soul is.'

'It does not seem so.'

'And assuredly one may not speak of it as immortal. Because if it is immortal it plainly is also unbegotten.'

'It is both unbegotten and immortal according to some Platonists, as they are called.'

'Do you then speak of the world as unbegotten?'

'There are some who say so, yet I myself do not agree with them.'

2. 'Rightly so. For what reason has one to suppose that a body so hard,[1] and resisting, and compound, and altering, and perishing, and coming into being every day has not had its being from a beginning of some sort? But if the world is begotten, it follows necessarily that souls have come into being, and perhaps may cease to be; for they come into being for the sake of men and the other living creatures, if you will admit without reserve that they have come into being by themselves, and not with the bodies that they each possess.'

'This appears to be right.'

'They are not then immortal.'

'No, since even the world, as we saw, was begotten.'

3. 'But, certainly, I personally do not say that all the souls die. For that would in truth be a piece of luck for the bad. What do I say? That the souls of the pious dwell in some better place, but the unrighteous and wicked in a worse, awaiting then the time of judgement. Thus the one sort, as plainly worthy of God, die not any more; but the others are punished, as long as God wills them both to exist and to be punished.'[2]

4. 'Is then your meaning much as Plato intimates about the world in his *Timaeus*,[3] when he says that it is corruptible inasmuch as it has come into being, but,

[1] *a body so hard, etc.*—*Timaeus* 28 B; *cf* Lactantius *Inst. Div.* II. 9 (Migne *P.L.* vi, 301).

[2] *as long as God wills them both to exist and to be punished.*—Elsewhere J. implies that the punishment is everlasting xlv. 4; cxx. 5; cxxx. 2. On J's. view of immortality see further lxxx. 4, note.

[3] p. 41, A.B.

because of the will of God, will not be dissolved nor meet with that fate, death? Does this precise doctrine seem to you to be taught also about the soul, and, in short, about all things? For he means that what things soever are after God, or ever will be, have a corruptible nature, and can disappear and be no more. For God alone is unbegotten and incorrupt, and is for this reason God, but all else after Him is begotten and corruptible. 5. For this reason the souls both die and are punished, since, if they were unbegotten, they would neither sin at all nor be filled full of folly, nor be cowardly and then again courageous, nor would they of their own accord ever go off into swine and serpents and dogs. Neither assuredly would it be even right to compel them to do so, if, that is to say, they are unbegotten. For the unbegotten is like the Unbegotten, and equal, and the same, and one may not be preferred to the other in power or dignity. 6. Hence the things that are unbegotten are not many. For if there were any difference in them, you could not by examination find any cause for this difference, but, if you send back your thought for ever to infinity you will sooner or later stay exhausted upon one thing that was unbegotten, and this you will say was the cause of all. Did all this, I say, escape the notice of such sages as Plato and Pythagoras, who became for us a very wall and bulwark of philosophy?'

VI

1. 'I care nothing,' he said, 'about Plato or Pythagoras, nor, in fact, about any one at all who holds such opinions. For the truth is in this wise, and you may learn from it. The soul either is life or has life. If then it is life, it would make something else live.

which is not itself, as motion also would make something else move rather than itself. And that the soul lives, none would gainsay. But, if it lives, it does not live as being life but as sharing in life, and anything which partakes is other than that of which it partakes. But a soul partakes of life when God wills it to live.[1] 2. In the same way then it will also not partake (of life) at the moment, whenever that is, that He wishes it not to live. For living is not proper to it as it is to God. But a man does not exist for ever, and as the body is not always connected with the soul, but, when it is necessary for this concord to be broken, the soul forsakes the body and the man is no more, so also, in the same way, when it is necessary for the soul to be no more, the spirit of life departs from it, and the soul is no more, but spontaneously goes back again thither whence it was taken.'

VII

1. 'Whom else then, I reply, could one take as teacher, or from what quarter might one derive advantage, if the truth is not even in these philosophers?'

'There were a long time ago[2] men of greater anti-

[1] *a soul partakes of life when God wills it to live.*—*cf.* Iren. *Adv. Haer.* II. lvi. 2 (xxxiv. 4), *'Sicut autem corpus animale ipsum quidem non est anima, participatur autem animam, quoadusque Deus vult: sic et anima ipsa quidem non est vita, participatur autem a Deo sibi praestitam vitam'.*

[2] *There were a long time ago.*—In 1 *Apol.* xliv. 8; liv. 2; lix. *sq.* J. directly affirms that Plato and other Greek philosophers derived much of their learning from Moses and the Old Testament. It is, in fact, not impossible that Pythagoras may have met Jews in Ionia, and acquired some information from them. Hermippus quoted by Josephus (*c. Apion* i. 22 § 165) says 'it is very truly affirmed of this Pythagoras, that he took a great many of the laws of the Jews into his own philosophy.' For references to modern discussions on the subject see I. Abrahams, *Studies,* second series, p. 179.

quity than all these reputed philosophers, men blessed and righteous and beloved of God who spake by the Divine Spirit, and foretold those things of the future, which indeed have come to pass. Prophets do men call them. They, and they only, saw the truth and declared it to mankind, without fear or shame of any, not dominated by ambition, but saying only what they had heard and seen, filled as they were with the Holy Spirit. 2. Now their writings still remain with us even to the present time, and it is open to anyone to consult these, and to gain most valuable knowledge both about the origin of things and their end, and all else that a philosopher ought to know, if he believes what they say. For they have not made their discourses, when they wrote, with logical proof, inasmuch as being trustworthy witnesses of the truth they are superior to all such proof, but the things that did take place and are taking place now compel agreement with what they have spoken. 3. And yet even on account of the miracles which they wrought they were entitled to belief, for they both glorified the Maker of all things as God and Father, and proclaimed the Christ sent from Him, as His Son, a thing which the false prophets who are filled with the seducing and unclean spirit never did nor ever do, but dare to work miracles of a sort to amaze men, and give glory to the spirits of error and daemons. But pray that before all else the gates of light[1] may be

[1] *the gates of light.—cf. Barn.* xviii. 1. 'There are two ways of doctrine and authority, that of light and that of darkness.' Aristides, xvii. 'Truly divine is that which is spoken by the mouth of the Christians, and their teaching is the gate of light.' The question in Job 38. 19, 'Where is the way to the dwelling of light,' may have suggested the converse thought of light streaming out along the way that leads to it. *cf.* Ps. 97. 11, light on each portion of the righteous man's path. *cf.* Heb. 6. 4 of the spiritual illumination of the believer. *cf.* xvii. 3 note.

opened to thee. For things are not seen nor comprehended of all, save of him to whom God, and His Christ, shall have given understanding.'

VIII

1. After saying this and many other things besides, which it is not now a fitting time to tell, he went away, bidding me follow his advice, and I saw him no more. But as for me, straightway a fire was kindled in my soul, and a passionate desire possessed me for the prophets, and for those great men who are the friends of Christ. And as I weighed his words within me I found that this alone was philosophy,[1] and philosophy safe and serviceable. 2. In this way then and for these reasons am I a philosopher. And, further, I could wish that all should form a desire as strong as mine, not to stand aloof from the Saviour's words. For these have in themselves a something of dreadful majesty, and are enough to put to shame those that turn out of the right way; while rest most delightful comes to those who carry them out in practice. If therefore you have any regard for yourself, and are in earnest after salvation, and are trusting on God, you may, forasmuch as you are no stranger to the subject, know the Christ of God and be initiated, and then live a prosperous and happy life.

[1] *this alone was philosophy.*—With us philosophy is chiefly speculation upon ultimate realities, but in J's. time it dealt more with practical ethics, and indeed 'accommodated itself to the facts of experience and fitted itself to be in truth the guide of life' (C. H. Moore, in Foakes Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, i. 251). Justin asserts that the only true philosophy of this kind is to be found in Christianity.

3. When, dear Friend,[1] I had said all this, Trypho's companions laughed aloud, and even he smiled. Your other remarks, he says, I accept, and I admire your zeal for the Divine, but it were better[2] for you to continue to hold the philosophy of Plato or of some other learned man, practising the while endurance and self-control and temperance, than to have been completely led away by false speeches, and to follow men of no account. For while you remained in that mode of philosophy and lived a blameless life, a hope was left you of a better fate, but when you have forsaken God, and placed your hope on a man[3] what kind of salvation yet remains for you? 4. If therefore you are willing to listen also to me (for I already reckon you as a friend), first[4] be circumcised, then (as is commanded in the Law) keep the Sabbath and the Feasts and God's New Moons, and, in short, do all the things that are written in the Law, and then perchance you will find mercy from God. But Messiah, if indeed He has ever

[1] *dear Friend.*—Marcus Pompeius, cxli. 5. Nothing is known of him.

[2] *it were better for you.*—A Jew regards Christianity as wilful opposition to Judaism, but heathenism as only ignorance, from which one may advance to Judaism.

[3] *when you have forsaken God, and placed your hope on a man.*—A common Jewish argument, but it begs the question. For Christians do not 'place their hope on a man,' nor on one who is 'half-God and half-man,' as a modern Jewish writer has carelessly put it. Orthodox Christians believe Jesus to be man, more completely man than any other, and also God in the fullest sense. *Cf.* Lukyn Williams. *Christian Evidences for Jewish People*, § 200.

[4] *first.*—T. urges the observance of the whole of Judaism as written in the Law, but makes no mention of its observance according to the traditional method, *i.e.* the Oral Law. Contrast R. Jose ben Judah (*c.* A.D. 200), who insisted that any candidate (as a proselyte) should be rejected 'unless he bound himself to observe not only every tittle of the Torah, but all the precepts of the scribes, even to the least of them' (*Jew. Encycl.*, x. 223).

been[1] and now exists anywhere, is unknown,[2] and does not even know Himself at all[3] nor has any power,[4] until Elijah shall have come[5] and anointed Him,[6] and shall

[1] *if indeed He has ever been.*—T. does not think Messiah has come, because, as he says in xlix. 1, he has no evidence that even Elijah, who anoints Him, has come. For Elijah, see notes 5, 6.

[2] *is unknown.*—If Messiah has come He is unknown, *cf.* cx. 1. R. Nachman (fourth century A.D.) said, 'If He is among the living He is such as I, for it is said, 'And their prince shall be of themselves, and their ruler shall proceed from the midst of them (Jer. 30. 21). Rab (died A.D. 347) said, If He is among the living, He is such as R. Judah the Saint; if among the dead, such as Daniel, a man greatly desired' (T.B. *Sanh.* 98b). For some Jews thought Messiah would be on earth for a time before He made Himself known (*cf.* even 4 Esdras 13. 52). He might even be among the lepers at the gates of Rome T.B. *Sanh.* 98a). So in fact He lived on earth privately for thirty years before He began His public life at His baptism.

[3] *and does not even know Himself at all.*—It is possible that even this was true of our Lord before His Baptism.

[4] *nor has any power.*—If he is in the world he is powerless, because it is certain that Elijah has not come.

[5] *until Elijah shall have come.*—See also xlix. Mal. 4. 6 had said that Elijah would restore social peace, or (as the meaning may be) lead the later Jews to spiritual union with their godly forefathers, and had thus connected him indirectly with the coming of Messiah. The same thought appears in Matt. 17. 10 and in the Mishna, the end of *Edujoth* viii. 7. But much in the Gospels, *e.g.* Matt. 11. 14, implies that he comes as the forerunner of Messiah, and T. here and in xlix speaks of his introducing Messiah to the people.

Though this expectation is not found (as it seems) in the Mishna it occurs with many details in later Jewish writings. The traditions are collected conveniently, but quite uncritically, in Edersheim, *Life and Times,* Appendix VIII.

[6] *and anointed Him.*—Elijah is called 'the chief priest' in Targ. Jer. on Ex. 40. 10, and will restore the flask of oil which has existed from the days of the wilderness (*cf. Tanchuma* on Ex. 16. 33, ed. Warsaw, 1875, p. 91a). Prophets and priests anointed kings, and it is a logical deduction that Elijah who was both prophet and priest will anoint king Messiah, but it does not seem to be expressly stated in any of the earlier Jewish documents. Klausner however accepts our passage as conclusive evidence for the existence of this tradition in the second century (*Die Mess. Vorstellungen* u.s.w., 1904, p. 62). See further Dalman, *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias,* 1888, pp. 8 *sq.*

have made Him manifest to all. But you people, by receiving a worthless rumour, shape a kind of Messiah for yourselves,[1] and for His sake are now blindly perishing.

IX

1. May you be pardoned, Sir, and be forgiven, for you know not what you say, but obeying teachers who do not understand the Scriptures, and playing the oracle, you say whatever comes into your mind. But allow me to give you the information that we have not been led astray, and will not cease acknowledging Him, even though men's reproaches be brought against us, and though the most terrible tyrant tries to compel us to disown Him. For if you will attend I will show you that we did not believe empty fables,[2] or words that cannot be proved, but such as are full of the Divine Spirit, gushing forth[3] with power, and teeming with grace.

2. They therefore that were with him laughed aloud again, and began to shout quite rudely. So I rose up and prepared to take my departure. But he took hold of my robe and said that I must not leave before I had fulfilled my promise. If so, I said, your companions must not make a disturbance, nor behave in so unseemly a fashion, but, if they like, let them listen quietly. But if they have any more important engagement that prevents their staying, let them depart. But as for us, let us withdraw to some spot where we may rest and finish our discussion.

[1] *shape a kind of Messiah for yourselves.*—J. alludes in cxviii. 3 to T.'s charge in these two sections.

[2] *Cf.* 2 Pet. 1. 16.

[3] The same word βρύω is used in cxiv. 4 of the Rock (Christ) gushing forth with the living water.

3. It seemed well to Trypho also that we should do so, and we then turned aside and proceeded to the middle space of the Colonnade.[1] But two of those that were with him, with some jokes, and some jests at our zeal, went away.

But when we were come to that place, where there are stone seats on other side, Trypho's companies sat down opposite, and after one of them had made a remark about the war in Judaea,[2] they conversed about it.

X

1. But when they ceased, I began to address them again as follows:

Is there any other fault you find with us, my friends, save this, that we do not live in accordance with the Law, and do not circumcise the flesh as did your forefathers, and do not keep the sabbath as you do? Or are also false accusations against our life and morals[3] made among you? I say this, lest you too have believed of us that we eat human beings, and after a banquet put out the lights and wallow in promiscuous lust. Or do you condemn us for this alone, that we pay heed to doctrines such as I have stated, and hold an opinion which, you think, is not true?

2. Yes, this is what surprises us, said Trypho, for the popular tales are not worthy of credence. They are far

[1] *the middle space of the Colonnade.*—J. had been walking in one of the side promenades (i. 1). For the *mise en scène* cf. Cicero, *Brut.* III. *cum inambularem in xysto; Acad.* II. iii. 9. *Cum igitur pauca in xysto locuti essemus, tum eodem in spatio consedimus.*

[2] *the war in Judaea.*—i. 3 note.

[3] *accusations against our life and morals.*—T. himself rejects these accusations (§ 2), but J. often refers to them (xvii. 3; cviii. 2; I *Apol.* x. 6; xxiii. 3; especially xxvi. 7; II *Apol.* xii. 1-4).

too unlike human nature.[1] I know too that the commands given you in what is called the Gospel[2] are so admirable and great, that I suspect that no one can keep them.[3] For I took some trouble to read them.

3. But we are especially at a loss about this, that you, saying you worship God, and thinking yourselves superior to other people, separate from them in no respect, and do not make your life different from the heathen, in that you keep neither the feasts nor the sabbaths, nor have circumcision, and, moreover, though you set your hopes on a man that was crucified, you yet hope to obtain some good from God, though you do not do His commandments. Now have you not read: *That soul shall be cut off from his people*[4] which shall not be circumcised on the eighth day? The charge refers alike to strangers[5] and to purchased slaves. 4. It follows that when you have directly despised this covenant you neglect the commands that come afterwards,[6] and as persons who know God you attempt to persuade us, though you practise none of these things which they who fear God do. If therefore you have any defence to make with reference to these points, and can show

[1] See J.'s own reminiscences in II *Apol.* xii. 1 *sq.*

[2] *in what is called the Gospel.*—Observe that T. himself says he has read 'the Gospel.' The earliest reference to the word *euaggelion* in Jewish books appears to be the saying of R. Meir (*c.* A.D. 130-160) who called it *'āwen-gillājôn* 'falsehood-writing' (T.B. *Sabb.* 116a bottom, Munich MS). Compare R. Jochanan b. Nappacha, (died *c.* A.D. 280) who called it *'awôn-gillājôn* 'sin-writing' (*ibid.*).

[3] *the commands in . . . the Gospel are so admirable and great, that I suspect that no one can keep them.*—Still a very common objection in the mouth of Jews. See *The Hebrew-Christian Messiah,* Lect. vi, pp. 224-40.

[4] Gen. 17. 14.

[5] *strangers.*—Gen. 17. 12; including J. himself.

[6] *the commands that come afterwards,* i.e. the logical result of accepting circumcision. Gal. 5. 3.

us how you have any hope at all, even though you do not keep the Law, we would very gladly hear from you. Afterwards let us examine the other points in the same way.

XI

There will never be any other God, Trypho, and there never was from all eternity, so said I to him, save He who made and established this universe. Nor do we consider that we have one God, and you another, but Him only who brought your fathers out of the land of Egypt *by a mighty hand and a stretched out arm,*[1] nor have we set our hopes on any other (for there is none), but only on Him on whom you also have set yours, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Yet our hope is set on Him not by means of Moses nor by means of the Law; for then we should assuredly be doing the same as you.

2. For in fact I have read, Trypho, that there is to be both a final Law[2] and a Disposition[3] that is superior

[1] Deut. 5. 15; *cf.* Ps. 136. 12.

[2] *a final Law.*—Namely Christ Himself (a little lower down and in § 4 and xliii. 1), not Christ's words, *e.g.* the sermon on the mount. This is the only definition fully congruent with Christianity. But elsewhere J. regards Christ as the new Legislator, xii. 2; xiv. 3; *cf.* Gal. 6. 2 on which Bengel says *Lex Christi lex amoris. Barn.* ii. 6 speaks of 'the new Law of our Lord'. Clement (*Strom.* i. 29; ii. 15) says that the lost *Preaching of Peter* (in the first third of the second century) calls the Lord Law and Word. The phrase in xliii. 1 is an everlasting law.

[3] *and a Disposition. Diathēkē.*—To translate this word by *Covenant* (*sunthēkē*) is misleading, for that implies more co-operation than mere receiving. *Testament* also is inaccurate, for though a *diathēkē* is often, perhaps generally, used of dispositions of property which become effective at the death of the testator (Heb. 9. 16), it is not always so. *Berîth* no doubt implies co-operation, but the LXX translators rightly felt that the co-operation on man's side was so slight that of the two words *diathēkē* gave the better connotation.

to all others, which must now be observed by all those who lay claim to the inheritance of God. For the Law given at Horeb is already antiquated and belongs to you alone, but that other belongs to all men absolutely. And a Law set over against a Law has made the one before it to cease, and a Disposition coming into existence afterwards has in like manner limited any former one. And as an eternal and final Law was Christ given to us, and this Disposition is sure, after which there is no law, or ordinance, or command.

3. Or have you not read what Isaiah says: *Hear ye me, hear ye me, O my people, and ye kings hearken unto me, for a law shall go forth from me and my judgment for a light of the nations. My righteousness draweth nigh speedily, and my Salvation shall go forth, and nations shall set their hope on my arm?*[1] And He speaks thus by Jeremiah about this same new Disposition: *Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new Disposition with the House of Israel and the House of Judah, not that which I made with their fathers, in the day when I took hold of their hand to lead them forth from the land of Egypt.*[2]

4. If therefore God proclaimed a new Disposition as about to be established, and this for a light of the nations, we then see and are sure that by the name of Him who was crucified, Jesus Christ, men part from idols and all other iniquity, and draw near to God, and make confession of Him, and worship, enduring unto death.

And from their works, and the power that accompanies them, all can understand that He is the new Law, and the new Disposition, and the Expectation of those from among all the nations, who await the good things

[1] Isa. 51. 4 *sq.*

[2] Jer. 31 (38). 31 *sq.*

that come to them at the hands of God. 5. For we are the true and spiritual Israelitish nation,[1] and the race of Judah and of Jacob and Isaac and Abraham, who when he was still uncircumcised[2] received witness from God for his faith, and was blessed, and was called father of many nations—we, I say, are all this, who were brought nigh to God by Him who was crucified, even Christ, as will be demonstrated in the course of our discussion.

XII

1. I continued my argument by bringing forward the fact that Isaiah cries aloud elsewhere : *Hear ye my words, and your soul shall live, and I will make for you an everlasting Disposition, the holy and sure blessings of David. Behold, I have given Him as witness to the nations. Nations which know thee not, shall call on thee; peoples which have no knowledge of thee, shall flee unto thee; because of thy God, the Holy One of Israel, for He hath glorified thee.*[3] 2. Him Himself who is the Law[4] you dishonoured, and His new holy Disposition you despised, and not even now do you receive Him, or repent, though you did so ill. For your ears are still stopped up, your eyes callous, and your heart waxed fat.[5] Jeremiah has cried,[6] and not

[1] *For we are the true and spiritual Israelitish nation.*—See cxix. 5; cxxiii. 7 and *cf.* cxxiv. 1. *Barn.* (§ xiii) applies in this sense Gen. 25. 23; 'the elder (Israel) shall serve the younger (Christians)', and Gen. 48. 19, where Ephraim (Christians) is preferred to Manasseh (Israel), and the blessing is given to him.

[2] *Abraham still uncircumcised.*—Rom. 4. 10-12. On circumcision see xix. 2 note.

[3] Isa. 55. 3-5.

[4] *who is the Law.*—xi. 2 note.

[5] *cf.* Isa. 6. 10.

[6] *Jeremiah has cried.*—The reference is to Jeremiah's words about the new Disposition quoted in xi. 3.

even so do ye hear; the Lawgiver[1] has come, and ye see Him not; the poor have the gospel preached to them, the blind have their sight, and ye understand not,

3. A second circumcision is now necessary, and ye are making much of your flesh; the new Law wishes you to keep sabbath all the time,[2] and you think you are acting piously by being lazy for one day, not considering the reason why it was commanded you; and if ye eat unleavened bread, ye say ye have fulfilled the will of God. It is not in these things that our Lord takes pleasure. If any among you is a false-swearer or a thief, let him cease; if any an adulterer, let him repent; then he has kept the delightsome[3] and true sabbaths of God. If any has not clean hands, let him wash; then is he clean.[4]

XIII

1. For assuredly, it was not to a bath that Isaiah sent you to wash away murder there and all other sins, which not even the whole water of the sea is sufficient to cleanse, but, as is probable, this was of old that laver of salvation, which he meant, namely, for those who repent and no longer cleanse themselves with the blood-shedding of goats and sheep, or the ashes of an heifer and offerings of meal, but by faith, through the blood of Christ and His death. Who died for this cause, as

[1] *The Lawgiver.*—see xi. 2 note.

[2] *to keep sabbath all the time.*—This ideal is implied in Rom. 14. 5; Gal. 4. 10 *sq*; Col. 2. 17. Explained in Iren. *Preach.* § 96, 'to him who perpetually keeps sabbath, that is to say, who in the temple of God, which is man's body, does service to God, and in every hour works righteousness'. For the controversy about the sabbath (Saturday) see xix. 5; xxvii. 5; xxix. 3. *Cf.* Tert. *Adv. Jud.* iv.

[3] Isa. 58. 13.

[4] *If any has not clean hands, etc.*—In the laver of salvation, see xiii. 1; xiv. 2.

Isaiah himself said, speaking thus: 2. *The Lord shall uncover His holy arm before all the nations, and all the nations shall see, and the ends of the earth, the salvation that comes from God. Depart, depart, depart, go forth thence and touch no unclean thing; go forth out of the midst of her; separate yourselves, ye who bear the vessels of the Lord; for in no confusion do ye journey; for there shall journey before your face the Lord, and He that is your rearguard is the Lord, the God of Israel. Behold, my servant shall understand, and shall be exalted and shall be greatly glorified.* 3. *As many shall be astonished at thee (so inglorious in the sight of men shall be thy form and thy glory) so shall many nations marvel at him, and kings shall close their mouth. Because they to whom it was not announced concerning Him shall see, and they who have not heard shall understand. Lord, who believed the report that came to us? And the arm of the Lord to whom was it revealed? We bore tidings before Him, as a child, as a root in a thirsty land.* 4. *He has not form nor glory; and we saw Him, and He had not form nor beauty; but His form was lacking in honour, (and) weak beyond the sons of men. A man long in suffering, and acquainted with bearing sickness, for His face is turned away (from us); He was dishonoured and no count was taken of Him. This man beareth our sins and suffers pain for us, and we accounted Him as being in trouble, in suffering and in distress.* 5. *But this man was wounded of our sins, and has suffered sickness because of our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace is on Him; by His stripe were we healed. We all went astray as sheep; each went astray in His way. And the Lord delivered Him up to our sins, and He openeth not His mouth because of being evil entreated.*

As a sheep was He led unto slaughter, and as a lamb before its shearer is dumb, so He openeth not His mouth. 6. *In His humiliation His judgment was taken away, and His generation who shall declare? For His life is taken away from the earth, from the iniquities of My people has He come unto death. And I will give the wicked instead of His burial, and the rich instead of His death, because He did no iniquity and guile was not found in His mouth. And the Lord is willing to cleanse Him from His suffering. If ye give an offering for sin, your soul shall see a long-lived seed.* 7. *And the Lord is willing to take (Him) away from the trouble of His soul, to show to Him light, and to form Him with understanding, to justify the just, that serveth many well. And He shall bear our sins. Therefore shall He receive many as His inheritance, and shall divide the spoils of the strong, because His soul was delivered up because of their iniquities.* 8. *Rejoice thou barren that bearest not, for many more are the children of her who is desolate than of her who has her husband. For the Lord said: Enlarge the place of thy tent and of thy curtains; fix, spare not; lengthen thy cords and strengthen thy tent-pegs, stretch out right and left; and thy seed shall inherit nations, and thou shalt inhabit deserted cities.* 9. *Fear not, because thou wast put to shame; nor dread, because thou wast reproached; because thou shalt forget perpetual shame, and shalt not remember the reproach of thy widowhood. For the Lord made Himself a name, and He that delivered thee, He, the God of Israel, shall be called so of all the earth. As a woman forsaken and faint-hearted hath the Lord called thee, as a woman hated from her youth.*[1]

[1] Isa. 52. 10-54. 6. See also Iren. *Preach.* §§ 68 *sq.*

XIV

1. By the laver therefore of repentance and of the knowledge of God, the laver which has been made on behalf of the iniquity of the peoples of God, as Isaiah cries aloud, we have believed, and make known that this very thing which he announced beforehand, even baptism, which alone can cleanse them that have repented, even this is the water of life. But as for the cisterns which ye dug for yourselves, they are broken and quite useless to you.[1] For what is the profit of that baptism which makes only the flesh and the body bright? 2. Baptize your soul (free) from anger and from covetousness, from envy, from hatred—and behold your body is clean. For this is the inner meaning of the unleavened bread, that ye do not practise the old deeds of the bad leaven.[2] But you have thought of all things in a carnal way, and consider it to be piety, even though when ye do such things, your souls are filled with guile, and, in fact, evil of every kind. 3. Therefore also after the seven days of eating unleavened bread God charged you to knead new leaven[3] for yourselves, that is, the practice of other deeds, and not the imitation of the old and worthless. And to show that this is what this new Lawgiver requires of you I will repeat over again the words that have before been spoken by me,[4] together with the rest that were omitted. Now they are thus said by Isaiah: 4. *Hear ye Me, and your soul shall live, and I will make for you an*

[1] Jer. 2. 13. [2] *cf.* 1 Cor. 5. 8.

[3] *God charged you to knead new leaven.*—There is no specific command, but it is deduced from leaven having been forbidden during the seven days of Passover, Lev. 23. 6. Goldfahn supposes that J. mistakenly referred to *vv.* 16 *sq.*, the new meal-offering after seven weeks. See Introd., p. xxxiv.

[4] xii. 1.

everlasting Disposition, the holy and sure blessings of David. Behold I have given Him for witness to nations. a ruler and commander to nations. Nations which know thee not, shall call on thee; and peoples, which have no knowledge of thee, shall flow unto thee; because of thy God, the Holy One of Israel, for He hath glorified thee. 5. Seek ye God, and when ye find Him call on Him, when He draweth near to you. Let the ungodly forsake his ways, and a lawless man his plans, and let him return to the Lord, and he shall receive mercy, because He will greatly forgive your sins. For my plans are not as your plans, nor my ways as your ways, but as far as the heaven is distant from the earth, so far is my way distant from your way, and your thoughts from my thinking. 6. For as snow comes down, or rain, from the heaven, and turns not away, until it soaks the earth, and brings forth, and causes to bud, and gives seed to the sower and bread for food, so shall My word be, which goeth forth at any time out of My mouth. It shall not turn away, until all things whatsoever I desired are completed, and I prosper my commandments. 7. For in gladness shall ye go forth and in joy shall be led over.[1] *For the mountains and the hills shall leap in welcome to you, and all the trees of the fields shall clash their branches, and instead of the broom shall come up cypress, and instead of the flea bane shall come up myrtle, and the Lord shall be for a name, and for an everlasting sign, and He shall not fail.*[2]

[1] *led over.*—διαχθήσεσθε. So Otto with the Hebrew, but Archambault with C and LXX read 'taught' ιδαχθήσεσθδε The choice (for J's. text) depends on whether the error of the copyist had crept into the LXX before J's. time.

[2] Isa. 55. 3-13.

8. Now of these and such-like words spoken by the prophets, Trypho, I said, some have been spoken with reference to the first coming of Christ,[1] in which He has been proclaimed as about to appear both without honour and without form[2] and mortal, but others have been spoken with reference to His second coming, when He will be present in glory and upon the clouds, and your people will see and will recognize Him whom they pierced, as Hosea, one of the Twelve Prophets, and Daniel foretold.[3]

XV

1. And learn therefore to fast[4] the true fast of God, as Isaiah says, in order that ye may please God. 2. Now Isaiah has cried thus: *Cry out with strength, and spare not. Lift up thy voice as with a trumpet and announce to my race their sins and to the house of Jacob their transgressions. Me will they seek day after day, and they long to know my ways, as a people that has done righteousness and not forsaken the judgment of God.* 3. *They ask me now for righteous judgement, and long to draw near to God, saying: Why is it that we fasted*

[1] *the first coming of Christ . . . His second coming.*—See Pearson, *Creed,* pp. 292 *sqq.*

[2] *without form.—cf.* lxxxviii. 8. We generally suppose that the ideal Man would have been remarkable for physical strength and beauty, but the contrary belief, based on Isa. 53. 2, was accepted by many of the Fathers [Iren. III. xx. 2 (xix. 2.)] Tert. *Adv. Jud.* xiv. Origen said that mystically the beauty or ugliness of His appearance varied with those who saw Him (*c. Cels.* vi. 75-77). See further Pearson, *Creed,* pp. 87 *sq.*

[3] *Him whom they pierced, as Hosea and Daniel foretold.*—The reference to Daniel is doubtless ix. 26, 'Hosea' is a mistake for Zechariah (12. 10), as in xxix. 2 and xlix. 2 'Zechariah' is put for Malachi. *Cf.* I Apol. xxxv. 10 sq. 'Zephaniah' for Zechariah, though in *Dial.* liii. 3 he gives Zechariah; li. 8 *sq.* 'Jeremiah' for Daniel; liii. 10 *sq.* 'Isaiah' for Jeremiah, *cf.* Introd., p. xxxiv.

[4] *fast.—Barn.* iii. 1.

and Thou didst not see, we humbled our souls, and Thou didst not know? For in the days of your fasts ye find your own desires, and ye sting all those who are under your control. Behold, ye fast for disputes and strifes, and ye strike the lowly with your fists. Why do ye fast to Me until this day, for your voice to be heard in clamour? 4. This is not the fast that I chose even a day for a man to humble his soul. Nor if thou shouldest bend thy neck as a ring, and spread under thee sackcloth and ashes, not even so shall ye call it a fast and a day acceptable to the Lord. Not such a fast as this did I choose, saith the Lord, but loose every unjust bond, unloose the knots of hard contracts,[1] send away the crushed at liberty, and tear asunder every unjust agreement. 5. Break thy bread in pieces for the hungry, and gather the poor who have no shelter into thy house. If thou seest one naked, clothe him; and from the kinsmen of thy seed thou shalt not look away in contempt. Then shall thy light break forth in early dawn, and thy clothing[2] spring up quickly, and thy righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of God shall wrap thee round. Then shalt thou cry out, and the Lord shall hear thee; whilst thou art still speaking He will say, Behold, I am here. 6. But if thou take away from thee bonds, and stretching out of the hand, and words of murmuring, and give to the hungry thy bread with a willing heart, and fillest the soul brought low, then shall thy light arise in the darkness, and thy darkness be as midday, and thy God shall be with thee continually, and thou shalt be filled as thy soul longeth,

[1] see **xl. 4 note.**

[2] *thy clothing.*— ἱμάτια Isa. 58. 8. But LXX B, following the Heb., rightly has 'healing' ἰάματα. The former is due to a corruption of the Greek letters.

and thy bones shall be made fat and shall be as a well-watered garden and a spring of water, or a land for which water never fails.[1] 7. Circumcise therefore the uncircumcision of your heart, as the words of God require throughout all these words.[2]

XVI

1. And by Moses has God Himself cried, thus saying: *And ye shall circumcise the hardness of your heart, and your neck ye shall harden no more; for the Lord, your God and Lord of lords, is a great God and strong and terrible, who accepteth no man's person, nor ever receiveth a gift.*[3] And in Leviticus, *because they transgressed and held me in contempt, and because they walked before me crookedly, so did I walk with them crookedly, and I will destroy them in the land of their enemies. Then shall their uncircumcised heart feel shame.*[4]

2. For the circumcision according to the flesh, that was from Abraham, was given for a sign, that ye should be separated from the other nations and us, and that ye alone should suffer the things ye are rightly suffering now,[5] and that your lands should be desolate and your cities burned with fire,[6] and that foreigners should eat up the fruits before your face, and none of you go up

[1] Isa. 58. 1-11.

[2] *as the words of God require throughout all these words.*—For the first half of the clause see xxi. 1, 'proved to you by these His own utterances'. But the connexion with the second half is awkward. Perhaps we should correct to 'as the Word of God requires' (either the Divine Utterance, or the Logos, see xix. 6 note; lxiii. 5), or even to, 'as the prophets require.'

[3] Deut. 10. 16 *sq.* [4] Lev. 26. 40 *sq.*

[5] J. is very harsh in this chapter: the sufferings of the Jews are due to their sins. Circumcision could not be hidden. See xix. 2 note.

[6] Isa. 1. 7.

unto Jerusalem.[1] 3. For by nothing else are ye to be known from other men, save by the circumcision that is in your flesh. For none of you, as I suppose, will dare to say that God was and is not both possessed of knowledge beforehand of the events to come, and also is preparing beforehand the things that each deserves. And therefore all this has happened to you rightly and well. 4. For ye slew the Just One[2] and His prophets before Him, and now ye reject, and, as far as in you lies, dishonour those that set their hope on Him, and God Almighty and Maker of the universe who sent Him, cursing in your synagogues them that believe on Christ.[3] For you have not authority to raise your own hands

[1] *and none of you go up to Jerusalem.*—xl. 2; xcii. 2. I *Apol.* xlvii. 6. A reference to Hadrian's edict after he had made Jerusalem a Roman colony, A.D. 135. i. 3 note.

[2] *ye slew the Just One.*—Jas. 5. 6. cxxxvi. 2. For other reff. to Jas. see xlix. 8 (Jas. 2. 19); c. 5 (Jas. 1. 15); *cf.* lv. 3 with Jas. 5. 11 'abundant kindness.'

[3] *cursing in your synagogues them that believe on Christ.*—xlvii. 4; xciii. 4; cviii. 3; *cf.* cxxxvii. 2. The Palestinian or older form of the Twelfth Benediction in the Eighteen Prayers (*Shemônê Esreh*) of the Jewish Prayer Book is, 'To the apostates (*mshummādim*) let there be no hope, and the kingdom of pride do Thou quickly root out in our days. And let the Christians (nôtzrim) and the heretics (mînim), perish as in a moment. Let them be wiped out of the book of life, and with the righteous let them not be written. Blessed art Thou, O LORD, who subduest the proud.' This was said at Jabneh *c.* 100 by Samuel the Small and apparently composed by him (T.B. *Berakoth* 29a). It thus became a test whether a worshipper in the synagogue was a Christian or not; see Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, 1913, pp. 36-8. J. assumes that it refers to all Christians, *i.e.* Gentiles as well as Jewish, and he may be right, although *nôtzrim* strictly means Nazarenes, and may therefore be used of Jewish Christians only. But Tertullian writes, *nos Judaei Nazarenos appellant* (*adv. Marc.* iv. 8). Jerome says on Isa. 5. 18; 49. 7; 52. 4, *Sub nomine Nazarenorum anathematizant vocabulum Christianum;* and, *Christo sub nomine Nazarenorum maledicunt;* and, *Sub nomine Nazarenorum ter die in Christianos congerunt maledicta.* See further Strack, *Jesus, die Häretiker und die Christen*, 1910, pp. 64*-7*. The references to *Minuth* are collected conveniently in Hoennecke, *Das Judenchristum*, 1908, pp. 381-400.

against us, because of them that are now supreme. But as often as ye could, this also ye did.[1]

5. Therefore also God calls out to you by Isaiah, saying: *See how the righteous hath perished, [and no one lays it to heart; and righteousness men are taken],[2] and no one considereth it. For from the face of iniquity hath the righteous been taken. He shall be in peace; His burial is taken out of the midst. Ye drew nigh hither, ye lawless children, seed of adulterers and children of a harlot. At whom did ye make merry, and against whom did ye open your mouth, and on whom did ye let your tongue loose?*[3]

XVII

1. For the other nations are not guilty of this injustice against us and Christ in the same way as ye are. For you are the cause[4] that even they are so prejudiced

[1] *But as often as ye could, this also ye did.*—xcv. 4; cx. 5; cxxxi. 2; cxxxiii. 6; *cf.* I *Apol.* xxxi. 5; xxxvi. 3. In our right abhorrence of persecutions of Jews by Christians, ancient and modern, we forget that the position was sometimes reversed. The complaint of persecution by Jews is made by the Fathers, *e.g. Ep. Diogn.* v. 17. The fact is undeniable in N.T. times (*e.g.* Acts 9. 23; 12. 3; 13. 50; 18. 12; 2 Cor. 11. 24), and that at all times Jews have treated such members of their race as have become Christians with extreme harshness can also hardly be denied. For Barcochab's treatment of Christians, presumably Hebrew-Christians who refused to revolt against Rome, see Euseb. *Chronicon,* in Jerome, Vallarsi, viii. cc. 711 *sq.*, or in Schoene, 1876, ii. p. 168; also Orosius, VII. xiii. But direct evidence of their stirring up persecutions against Gentile Christians is very scanty. There are even difficulties about their reported action in the case of Polycarp (see Isr. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism,* 2nd Series, 1924, pp. 67-9). The subject requires ful'er investigation.

[2] C. omits the words in [ ]. They are found in cx. 6 and the LXX.

[3] Isa. 57. 1-4. See xcvii. 2 note.

[4] *you are the cause.*—cxvii. 3. In Isa. 52. 5; Rom. 2. 24, the Jews are blamed for the effect of their evil lives upon the heathen. Here J. blames them for their misrepresentation of Christ and Christians.

against the Righteous One, and against us who are His. For after you crucified Him the only spotless and righteous man, by means of whose stripes there is healing for them who come unto the Father by Him, when ye knew Him as risen from the dead and ascended into heaven—as the Prophets stated before should happen—ye not only did not repent for the ills ye did, but chose selected men from Jerusalem[1] and then sent them out into all the earth, saying that a godless sect, namely, of Christians had appeared, and recounting what all who know us not are wont to say against us. So that ye not only are the cause of iniquity for yourselves, but in fact for all others. 2. And rightly does Isaiah cry out: *Because of you is my name spoken ill of among the nations*[2] and, *Woe to their soul, because they have counselled evil counsel against themselves, saying: Let us bind the righteous, because he is inconvenient to us. Therefore shall they eat the offspring of their own deeds. Woe to the lawless. Evil shall happen to him according to the works of his hands.*[3] And again elsewhere: *Woe to them who draw their sins as with a long rope, and their transgressions as with a heifer's yoke-thong, who say: Let His speed draw near, and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel come, that we may know it. Woe to them that call evil good, and good evil; who set light as*

[1] *chose selected men from Jerusalem.*—cviii. 2; cxvii. 3. Otto quotes a long passage from Eusebius on Isa. xviii. 1 enlarging on this. There seems to be no Jewish evidence, but J.'s statement may well be accurate, for messengers were sent from the Sanhedrin to give the Jews in distant lands direct information about the calendar, and would doubtless, have been empowered also to convey decisions which were of general importance to the community. See Grätz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, 1866, iv. note 21, and Isr. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism*, 2nd Series, 1924, pp. 69-71.

[2] Isa. 52. 5.

[3] Isa. 3. 9-11. On the different reading in cxxxvi. 2; cxxxvii. 3, see note on the latter passage.

darkness, and darkness as light; who set the bitter as sweet, and the sweet as bitter.[1]

3. Against the only spotless and righteous Light[2] therefore, sent to men from God, were ye zealous that these bitter and dark and unjust tales[3] should be spread throughout all the earth. For He seemed to be inconvenient to you, when He cried aloud among you: *It is written, My house is a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of robbers.*[4] And He overthrew the tables of them that changed money in the temple.

4. And He cried out: *Woe to you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites. Because ye tithe the mint and the rue, but the love of God and judgment ye do not consider. Whitened tombs, appearing fair without, but within full of dead bones!* And to the Scribes, *Woe to you, Scribes, because ye have the keys, and ye yourselves do not enter in, and ye hinder them that are entering in. Blind guides!*[5]

XVIII

1. For since, Trypho, you have read what He our Saviour taught, as you have yourself acknowledged, I think that I have not acted in an unseemly fashion in

[1] Isa. 5. 18-20.

[2] *Against the only spotless and righteous Light* (φωτός),—In § 1 Christ is called 'the only spotless and righteous man (ἄνθρωπον) so that J. may be playing on the word φώς used in poetry for 'man'. But no doubt he is thinking chiefly of John 1. 9, the comparison of our Lord and the Gospel to Light. The thought is common in the *Dialogue*, vii. 3 note; xi. 4; xxiv. 3; lxv. 7; cxiii. 5; cxxviii. 3 *sq.*

[3] *these bitter and dark and unjust tales.*—of immorality and the drinking of blood.

[4] This is not quite verbally identical with any of the Gospels (Matt. 21. 13; Mark 11. 17; Luke 19. 46).

[5] *cf.* Matt. 23. 23, 27; Luke 11. 42; Matt. 23. 14; Luke 11. 52; Matt. 23. 16, 24.

also adding some short sayings of His to those found in the prophets.

2. Wash therefore, and now become clean,[1] and put away the iniquities from your souls, as indeed God bids you wash yourselves with this laver, and (bids you) be circumcised with the true circumcision. For we should, in fact, be keeping even this circumcision which is according to the flesh, and the sabbaths, and all the festivals, if we did not know the reason why it all was enjoined even on you, namely, because of your transgressions and hardness of heart.[2]

3. For if we endure all that men[3] and evil demons[4] work out for us to bear, so that even in the extremity of pains too great to tell, and death and punishments, we pray that even they who ordered us such sufferings may obtain mercy, and desire that no one be requited with even a little of them, as the new Lawgiver[5] commanded us—how should we not also, Trypho, keep those things that hurt us not at all, namely circumcision of the flesh and sabbaths and the festivals?

XIX

1. [Trypho]. This is the very point about which it is right to doubt, that when ye endure sufferings of that kind ye do not also keep all the other things which we are now discussing.

[1] Isa. 1. 16.

[2] *hardness of heart.*—See xix. 2 note.

[3] *if we endure all that men.*—This claim recurs often *e.g.* xlvi. 7.

[4] *and evil demons.*—as inspiring the ungodly to persecute; xxxix. 6; cxxxi. 2. *cf. The Teaching of Jacob,* I. 8. 'Christ took the spoils of death and Hades and set free the prisoners out of the hands of the devil, and destroyed the devilish error of the idols.' See also *Barn.* ix. 4 with Windisch's note.

[5] *the new Lawgiver.*—xi. 2 note.

2. [Justin]. The reason is that this circumcision[1] is not necessary for all, but for you alone, that, as I said before, ye may suffer what you now are rightly suffering. For, again, we do not accept that useless baptism which is a matter of cisterns,[2] for this has nothing to do with this baptism of ours, which belongs to life. Therefore God has also cried: *Ye forsook Him, a living fountain, and ye dug for yourselves broken cisterns, which will not be able to hold water.*[3] 3. You, indeed, who are circumcised in your flesh have need of our circumcision, but we, possessing this, have no need of that. For if it were necessary, as ye think, God would not have formed Adam uncircumcised,[4] nor would He have looked with favour upon the gifts of Abel who offered sacrifices in

[1] *circumcision.*—This raises the whole question of the observance of the Law as indispensable for salvation, for Gentiles as well as for Jews, and therefore has been a subject of controversy from the very earliest times (Gal. 5. 2 *sq.*). The argument of J. and the Fathers in general is twofold. (1) The fact that the saints before Abraham were uncircumcised shows that it is not necessary in itself (*cf.* Tert. *Adv. Jud.* 2). See especially xxiii. 3, 4 notes. The Jewish answer is that God knew Adam could not keep the Law—he broke one little command in an hour. See *Tanchuma* on Lev. xi. 2 (Buber's edn. p. 30). (2) God gave circumcision as a means for distinguishing members of the Jewish nation from others, in fact as a racial sign. So xvi. 2; this passage; xxviii. 4; xcii. 2, 3; cxxxvii. 1. Very similar to this is J.'s further argument that sacrifices and dietary laws, and even the Temple itself, were really given to prevent the Jews from falling into idolatry, and therefore have no permanent value (§ 5. xviii. 2; xx. 1; xxii. 1, 11; xxiii. 1; xxvii. 2-4); and to this T. agrees (lxxvii. 8). So *Lev. R.* on Lev. 17. 3 (1875, p. 30b): 'They had been used to worship idols . . . God said, Let them always offer their offerings before Me in the Tent of witness, and they will be kept separate from idolatry, and be set free (from punishments)'. *Cf. Tanchuma ibid.* (*'achare mûth* § 17, Buber). See also *Barn.* ix. 6 with Windisch's notes.

[2] *that useless baptism which is a matter of cisterns.*—J. has a side-hit at the importance attributed by Jews to the ceremonial use of the *Miqweh* (bath), and the minute regulations about its size, and the amount and nature of the water for it. See *Jew Enc.* viii. 588.

[3] Jer. 2. 13.

[4] *Adam uncircumcised.*—§ 2 note.

uncircumcision of the flesh, nor would Enoch[1] in uncircumcision have *pleased* Him, and *he was not, for God translated him.* 4. Lot was saved out of Sodom without circumcision, when those very angels and the Lord led him forth. Noah,[2] as the head of another race,[3] entered into the ark together with his children, without circumcision. The priest of God most High, Melchizedek, was without circumcision, and he had tithes given him by Abraham[4] as offerings, and Abraham was the first to receive the circumcision that is after the flesh, and was blessed by Melchizedek,[5] after whose order God has announced by David that He would establish the eternal Priest. 5. To you therefore alone was this circumcision necessary, that the people may not be a people,[6] and the nation not a nation, as also Hosea, one of the Twelve prophets, says. For, moreover, without keeping the sabbath all the righteous men who have already been named pleased God, and after them Abraham and all his sons until Moses, in whose time your people appeared plainly as unrighteous and ungrateful towards God, when it made the calf in the wilderness. 6. For this reason God accommodated Himself to that people, and com-

[1] *Enoch.*—xxiii. 1; xliii. 2; xlv. 2, 4; xcii. 2; see Gen. 5. 24; Heb. 11. 5.

[2] *Noah.*—It is strange that he is mentioned after Lot.

[3] *the head of another race.*—In cxxxviii. 2. J. argues that like Noah Christ became 'the head of another race which was begotten anew of Him by water and faith and wood.' *cf.* Col. 1. 18 *sq.*

[4] *Abraham.*—The argument suggests that J. made the same mistake here as in xxxiii. 2, that Abraham had been circumcised already.

[5] *Melchizedek.*—In T.B. *Nedarim* 32b R. Ishmael (*c.* A.D. 130-160) says that God intended to derive the priesthood from Shem (through Melchizedek), but because Melchizedek put Abraham before God in his blessing, the priesthood was not continued to his seed, but given to Abraham and his seed—as indeed Ps. 110. 4 shows, which means, 'because of the word spoken by Melchizedek' (see Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten* 1903, i. 267 [259]).

[6] Hos. 1. 9. The following words are an addition.

manded them to bring sacrifices, as unto His name, in order that ye should not commit idolatry. And not even this did ye keep, but offered your children also to demons. And He has for this cause charged you to keep sabbath, that ye may hold remembrance of God. For His word signifies this also,[1] saying: *to know that I am the God who redeemed you.*[2]

XX

1. For He charged you too to abstain from certain foods, in order that even in your eating and drinking ye may have God before your eyes,[3] since you are prone and apt to depart from the knowledge of Him. As also Moses says: *The people ate and drank, and rose up to play.*[4] And again, *Jacob ate and was filled and grew fat, and the beloved kicked; he grew fat, and grew thick, and grew broad, and forsook God who made him.*[5] For that God had granted to Noah,[6] a righteous man, to eat

[1] *For His word signifies this also.*—xv. 7 note. Arch. thinks rightly that 'word' here refers to the Logos as the medium of the Father's communication with us.

[2] Ezek. 20. 12, 20.

[3] *that even in your eating and drinking ye may have God before your eyes.*—This reason for the dietary laws is common in the Fathers. *cf. Barn.* x. according to which each food forbidden or permitted suggests certain vices or virtues. This recalls Num. 15. 39, 'And it shall be unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it and remember all the commandments of the LORD'. But perhaps the nearest approach to this statement about foods is *Tanchuma* on Lev. 11. 2 (edn. Buber, p. 30) 'Why (were these rules ordered?) To give a good reward to Israelites who observe the commands. . . . The commands were given only to purify men by them.' *cf.* xix. 2 note.

[4] Ex. 32. 6.

[5] Deut. 32. 15.

[6] *Noah.*—Gen. 9. 3. So *Tanchuma,* Lev. 11, 2 (edn. Buber, p. 30); 'From the beginning of the creation of the world all was permitted, for it is said, 'As the green herb have I given you all, but from the time that Israel stood on Mt. Sinai He increased Law and commandments in order to give them a good reward.' But T.B. *Sanhed.* 59b says that until Noah flesh was forbidden. *cf. Midr. Tehillim* on Ps. 146. 7.

every living thing, save flesh with blood, namely a carcase,[1] was related to you by Moses in the book of Genesis.

2. Now when Trypho was intending to say: *as green herbs,*[2] I forestalled him: Why will ye not understand how the phrase *as green herbs* has been spoken by God, namely, that as God had made the herbs for food for man, so also He had given the living creatures as flesh for him. But since we do not eat some plants, so ye say that a distinction was appointed to Noah in animals from that time onwards.

3. Your explanation is not credible. For first, though I can say and maintain that every green herb is also for food, I do not waste time over this. But even though we do make a distinction between the green herbs, not eating all, it is not because they are *common or unclean* that we do not eat, but rather because they are bitter or poisonous or thorny. But all the sweet and most nutritious and finest, of both sea and land, we desire, and partake of them.

4. In the same way God commanded you by Moses to abstain from things unclean and injurious and wrong, for when you were even eating the manna in the wilderness, and were seeing all the wondrous deeds that were done for

[1] *a carcase.*—*νεκριμαῖον.* So Aquila, Deut. 14. 8. It is an animal that has either died of itself or been killed by some other way than ritual slaughter. In technical language it is *nebēlah*, as contrasted with *terēphah* (a clean animal ritually unhealthy).

[2] *as green herbs.*—It will be seen from § 1, note, that *Tanchuma* and J. agree. But J. thinks that T. is about to argue that after all we do not eat all herbs, and that in the same way we do not eat all meats. J. replies that the distinction is quite different, because whether we eat herbs or not depends solely upon their natural properties. In *Midr. Tehillim* (Ps. 146. 7, Buber, p. 535) one interpretation given is that in the world to come God will remove all restrictions about unclean beasts.

you by God, you made the golden calf, and began to worship it. So that rightly does He ever cry aloud: *Foolish children, there is no faith in them.*[1]

XXI

1. Now because of your sins and those of your fathers God charged you to keep the sabbath as a sign,[2] as I said already, and has also given you His other ordinances. He also signifies that because of the Gentiles—lest His name should be profaned among them—He allowed some of you at least to remain alive. All this can be clearly proved to you by these His own utterances.

2. Now they have been spoken by Ezekiel as follows: *I am the Lord your God. Walk in my ordinances, and keep my judgments, and do not mingle yourselves with the customs of Egypt, and hallow my sabbaths, and they shall be for a sign between Me and you, to know that I am the Lord your God. And ye provoked Me, and your children did not go in My ordinances, and did not keep My judgments to do them, which if a man do he shall live in them, but they profaned My sabbaths.* 3. *And I said that I would pour out Mine anger upon them in the wilderness, to accomplish my wrath upon them, and I did not, in order that my name should not be at all profaned before the nations, in whose sight I brought them out. And I lifted up my hand against them in the wilderness, to scatter them among the nations, and to sow them broadcast in the countries, because they did not do my judgments, and rejected my ordinances, and profaned my sabbaths, and their eyes*

[1] Deut. 32. 20; *cf.* Jer. 4. 22.

[2] xix. 2 note.

were after the imaginations of their fathers. 4. And I gave them ordinances that were not good, and judgments in which they shall not live; and I will defile them in their houses, when I pass through to destroy everything that openeth the womb.[1]

XXII

1. In the same way He commanded offerings because of the sins of your people, and because of their idolatries,[2] and not because He was in need of such. For He thus speaks by Amos, one of the Twelve,[3] crying aloud: 2. *Woe to you who long for the Day of the Lord. What object is this Day of the Lord to you? And it is darkness and not light. It will be as when a man flees from the face of the lion, and the bear meets him, and he springs into his house and leans his hands on the wall, and the serpent bites him. Is not the Day of the Lord darkness and not light, and thick darkness with no illumination for them? I hate, I reject your festivals, and my nostrils shall take no pleasure in your assemblies. 3. Therefore if ye offer me your whole burnt offerings and your sacrifices, I will not accept them, and I will not look upon the peace offer-*

[1] Ezek. 20. 19-26.

[2] On the sacrifices see xix. 2 note.

[3] *the Twelve.*—This appears to be the earliest example of the absolute use of the term (see also xli. 2; liii. 3; lxxxvii. 4; cix. 1), although J., following Ecclus. 49. 10 (Heb. and Greek), has already called them 'the Twelve Prophets' (xiv. 8; xix. 5; xxviii. 5). Melito (died before A.D. 190), as quoted by Eusebius (*Ch. Hist.* IV. xxvi. 14) also says 'the Twelve', and the term is found in a tradition of (as it seems) the end of the second century A.D recorded in T.B. *Baba Bathra* 13b.

ings that you present.[1] *Remove from Me the multitude of your songs and psalms; I will not hear your instruments of music. And judgment shall roll down as water, and righteousness as a torrent that cannot be crossed. Did ye offer victims and sacrifices to Me in the wilderness, O House of Israel, saith the Lord. And ye took up the tent of Moloch, and the star of your god Raphan, the images which ye made for yourselves.* 4. *And I will remove you beyond Damascus, saith the Lord; God All-supreme is His name. Woe to them who live wantonly in Sion, and to those who trust on the hill of Samaria. They who are renowned among the rulers*[2] *gathered the heads of the nations as grapes; the House of Israel have entered in for themselves. Pass over all of you unto Chalané*[3] *and see, and go thence unto Hamath the great, and go down thence unto Gath of the aliens, the chief of all these kingdoms—(see) if their boundaries are more than your boundaries.* 5. *They who come unto an evil day, who draw near and lay hold of false sabbaths, who sleep upon beds of ivory and live wantonly on their mattresses, who eat lambs of their flocks, and sucking calves from the midst*

[1] *the peace offerings that you present.*—Amos 5. 22. Reading σωτηρίους ἐπιφανείας ὑμῶν. with LXX B. As a translation of *shelem* ωτήριον (singular and plural) is common. *Cf.* τὰ του σωτηρίου Lev. 9. 22; Ezek. 45. 17; 46. 12, but it is never found in the LXX with ἐπιφάνεια. This would seem to refer to the worshipper appearing before God to present his gifts. The Hebrew has *mri'êkem* ('your fatlings'), which was read as nôrâ'akem; *cf.* 2 Sam. 7. 23, where for the Hebrew nôrâ'ôth the LXX has ἐπιφάνειαν.

[2] *They who are renowned among the rulers.*—This represents the same original Hebrew as the following words 'plucked the heads . . . as grapes.' But the LXX has the second form only.

[3] *unto Chalané.*—So the Lucianic Recension of Amos (see Oesterley, *Studies on the Book of Amos*, 1902, p. 46); *cf.* Field's *Hexapla* on *Am.* 6. 2, and LXX in Gen. 10. 10; Isa. 10. 9.

of their herds, who clap their hands at the voice of the instruments of music, have regarded these things as abiding and not as fleeting, who drink wine in goblets and anoint themselves with the chief ointments, and suffered not at all over the affliction of Joseph. Therefore now shall they be captives among the very first of the princes that go to a far land, and the home of evil doers shall be overthrown, and the neighing of horses shall be taken away from Ephraim.[1]

6. And again by Jeremiah: *Gather together your flesh-offerings and your sacrifices, and eat, because neither did I give any command to your fathers about sacrifices or libations, in the day that I took hold of their hand to lead them out from the land of Egypt.*[2]

7. And again He said thus by David in the forty-ninth Psalm: *The God of gods, the Lord, spake, and called the earth from the rising of the sun as far as its setting. Out of Sion is the comeliness of His beauty. God shall come openly, our God, and shall not keep silence. Fire shall burn before Him, and round about Him is a mighty tempest. He shall summon the heaven above and the earth, to judge his people. Gather together to Him His holy ones, those that ratify His covenant with sacrifices. And the heavens shall announce His righteousness, because God is judge. 8. Hear, O my people, and I will speak to thee, Israel, and I will solemnly protest unto thee. God, even thy God, am I. Not for thy sacrifices will I convict thee, for thy whole burnt offerings are continually before Me. I will not receive calves from thy house, nor he-goats out of thy flocks, because all the wild-beasts of the field are Mine, herds in the mountains, and cattle; I know*

[1] Amos. 5. 18—6. 7. [2] Jer. 7. 21 *sq.*

all the birds of heaven, and the beauty of the field is with Me. 9. If I be hungry, I will not tell thee, for Mine is the inhabited world and the fulness of it. Am I to eat bull's flesh, or drink goat's blood? Sacrifice to God the sacrifice of praise, and render to the Most High thy vows; and call upon Me in the day of affliction, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify Me. But to the sinner said God: With what object dost thou recount My judgments, and takest up My covenant with thy mouth? But thou didst hate discipline, and didst cast out My words behind thee. 10. *If thou didst behold a thief, thou didst run with him, and thou didst set thy portion with the adulterer. Thy mouth abounded in malice, and thy tongue twisted up deceits. As thou didst sit thou didst talk against thy brother, and against the son of thy mother didst thou set a snare. These things thou didst, and I kept silence; thou didst assume that I should be like thee in iniquity. I will convict thee and set thy sins before thy face. Understand these things, ye that forget God, lest He pluck you away, and there be none to deliver you. The sacrifice of praise shall glorify Me, and therein lies the way by which I will show him My salvation.*[1]

11. He therefore neither receives sacrifices from you, nor commanded you to do them originally as being Himself in need of them, but only because of your sins, For even the temple,[2] which is called the temple in Jerusalem, He acknowledged as His house or court, not

[1] Ps. 50. Otto calls attention to the singular agreement of J.'s words with the ordinary text, quite unlike his other quotations. This is doubtless due to the fact that Psalms were learned by heart more than other parts of Scripture, but whether the agreement here is due to J.'s or to his copyist's memory is uncertain.

[2] *the temple.*—This also was only preventive; *cf.* xix. 2, note.

as Himself being in need of it, but that even by paying attention to it ye should not commit idolatry. And that this is so, Isaiah says: *What kind of house did ye build Me? saith the Lord. The heaven is My throne, and the earth my footstool.*[1]

XXIII

1. Now if we do not acknowledge the soundness of these arguments, we shall find ourselves falling into absurd ideas, either that it is not the same God who was in the time of Enoch, and of all the other (saints) who neither had circumcision after the flesh nor kept either sabbaths or the other commands, for it was Moses who ordered these things to be done; or else that He has not desired that all mankind should always practise the same acts of righteousness. And to acknowledge this seems ridiculous and silly. 2. But we must acknowledge that it is because of the fault of sinful men that He who is ever the same has given these and such-like commandments, and must declare that He loves men, and knows all beforehand, and is in want of nothing, and is righteous and good. Since, if this is not so, answer me, Gentlemen, what you think about the matters under discussion.

3. And when no one answered I added: Therefore to you, Trypho, and to those who wish to become proselytes[2] (to the true faith), I proclaim the Divine message which I heard from that (old) man (whom I mentioned before).[3] You see that Nature[4] does not idle

[1] Isa. 66. 1.

[2] *proselytes.*—xxviii. 2, note.

[3] See iii—vii.

[4] *Nature.*—Properly 'the elements'; see Wisd. 7. 17; 19. 18; 4 Macc. 12. 13. Hardly the signs of the Zodiac (Diog. Laert. vi. 102). We have here a fresh development of the argument.

nor keep sabbath. Abide as ye have been born. For if before Abraham there was no need of circumcision, and before Moses none of keeping the sabbath, and of festivals, and of offerings, neither in like manner is there any need now, after the Son of God, Jesus Christ, has been born according to the will of God without sin[1] by the virgin who was of the seed of Abraham. 4. For Abraham[2] himself when in uncircumcision was justified and received blessing, on account of the faith with which he believed God, as the (passage of) Scripture indicates. Now he received circumcision for a sign, but not for righteousness, as both the Scriptures and the facts compel us to acknowledge. So that the saying was

Not only Scripture but also Nature itself shows that circumcision, sabbath, *etc.*, are not necessary (xix. 2 note). Resh Laqish (died A.D. 275) in T.B. *Sanh.* 58b may be rebutting this argument, when he says ironically: 'If a Gentile keeps sabbath (on any day) he deserves death, for it says, Day and night they shall not keep sabbath' (a verbal play on Gen. 8. 22, see Goldfahn, pp. 47 *sq.*). Perhaps the *Odes of Solomon* have an antijudaic connotation in xvi. 14 *sq.*, 'And created things run in their coursings and do their works; and they know not how to stand and be idle,' where Bernard gives other illustrations. Ibn Ezra (A.D. 1158) says that in the Decalogue the command about the sabbath was the only one which was not known 'by the power of the mind' before the Law was declared by Moses (see J. Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England,* 1893, p. 34). But T.B. *Yoma* 67b distinguishes clearly between such commands as belong (in our phrase) to natural religion (against idolatry, uncleanness, murder, theft, profanation of the Name), and those due to express revelation (against eating pork, wearing garments of mixed material, *etc.*).

[1] *without sin.*—Lacking in the parallel passage, xliii. 1 (*cf.* c. 2), and even here there is some uncertainty about the text.

[2] *Abraham.*—A philosopher, perhaps Origen himself, asked R. Hoshaiah, If circumcision is precious why was it not given to Adam? The answer eventually is that each thing in creation needs something else for its perfection (*e.g.* as sweet needs bitter). So Adam needed a special institution (*Bresh. R.* on Gen. 2. 3, 1875 edn., p. 12d). The same question is put to God by Abraham, who is also afraid that he will have fewer proselytes. God replies 'It is enough for thee that thou and I are in the world, and if thou refusest to be circumcised I have had enough of the world' (*Bresh. R.* on Gen. 17. 1, p. 53b).

rightly spoken about that people: *That soul shall be destroyed out of its race, which shall not be circumcised on the eighth day.*[1]

5. And the fact that the female sex[2] cannot receive carnal circumcision, shows that this circumcision has been given for a sign, and not as a work of righteousness. For God made even females able to keep all the acts of righteousness and virtue as well as men. But we see that one fashion of flesh for male and another for female has been made, yet we know that neither one of them is either righteous or unrighteous for this reason but only for reasons of piety and righteousness.

XXIV

1. This too I could therefore prove to you, Gentlemen, I said, that the eighth day[3] had a certain mystical meaning which was proclaimed by God by these means, rather than the seventh. But that I may not seem to digress to other subjects I cry aloud: Understand that the blood of that circumcision is rendered useless, and we have believed the blood that bringeth salvation. Now have another Disposition and another Law[4] gone forth from Sion. 2. Jesus Christ circumcises all them who will, *with knives of stone,*[5] as was proclaimed from of old, *that there may be a righteous nation, a people*

[1] Gen. 17. 14.

[2] *the female sex.*—See R. Tanchuma in *Bresh.* R. on Gen. 17. 2, (1875, p. 53c). He and J. knew nothing of the practice of circumcision of females among many primitive tribes, and continued by Mohammedans and the Abyssinian Christians to this day.

[3] *the eighth day.*—This is explained more clearly in xli. 4. See also cxxxviii. 1.

[4] *another Disposition and another Law.*—See xi. 2 note.

[5] *knives of stone.*—Josh. 5. 2. J.'s symbolical interpretation is given in cxiii. 6 *sq.*, where see note.

keeping faith, apprehending truth and keeping peace.[1] 3. Come with me all who fear God, who wish to see the good things of Jerusalem. Come, let us go in the light of the Lord, for He has set His people free, even the House of Israel. Come, all ye nations, let us be gathered together at Jerusalem, which is no longer attacked because of the iniquities of the peoples. *For I became manifest to them that seek Me not; I was found of them that ask not after Me,* He cries aloud by Isaiah. 4. *I said, Behold I am here, to nations which called not upon My name. I stretched out My hands the whole day to a disobedient and gainsaying people, to those who go in a way not good, but after their sins. It is a people which provoketh Me to My face.*

XXV

1. These who justify themselves and say they are children of Abraham[2] will desire to inherit along with us[3] even a little place,[4] as the Holy Spirit cries aloud by Isaiah, speaking as follows in their person: 2. *Return from Heaven and see, from Thy holy house and Thy glory. Where is then Thy zeal and Thy might? Where is the abundance of Thy mercy, because Thou didst bear with us, O Lord? For Thou art our Father, because Abraham knew us not, and Israel did not recognize us. But Thou, O Lord our Father, deliver us; from the beginning is Thy name upon us. Why didst Thou lead us astray, O Lord, from Thy way, and didst harden our heart, that we should*

[1] Isa. 26. 2 *sq.* In the rest of this § J. has skilfully interwoven several passages of the Old Testament; Ps. 128. 4 *sq.*; Isa. 2. 5 *sq.*; Jer. 3. 17; Isa. 65. 1-3.

[2] *and say they are children of Abraham.*—See the commentaries on Matt. 3. 9; Luke 3. 8; John 8. 33.

[3] *along with us,*—*i.e.* us Gentile believers. *cf.* xxvi.

[4] *even a little place.*—The phrase is taken from Isa. 63. 18 quoted immediately. In the LXX the reference is to the future and to locality, but in the Hebrew to the past and to time.

not fear Thee? 3. Return because of Thy servants, because of the tribes of Thine inheritance, that we may inherit a little of Thy holy mountain. We became as of old, when Thou didst not rule over us, nor was Thy name called upon us. If thou openest the heaven, trembling will seize the mountains at Thee, and they will melt as wax melts at fire; and fire will burn up Thy adversaries, and Thy name will be manifest among Thy adversaries; at Thy presence shall nations be confounded. 4. When Thou doest Thy glorious deeds, trembling will seize the mountains at Thee. Never did we hear, nor did our eyes see, any God save Thee and Thy works. He will show mercy to them that repent. He shall meet them that do the right, and they shall remember Thy ways. Behold, Thou wast angry, and we sinned. Therefore were we all led astray and became unclean, and all our righteousness as the rags of a woman in her separation, and we fell off as leaves because of our iniquities; so shall the wind carry us away. 5. And there is none that calleth upon Thy name, and that remembereth to lay hold on Thee, because Thou didst turn Thy face away from us, and didst deliver us up because of our sins. And now[1] *return, O Lord, because we are all Thy people. The city of Thy sanctuary has become desert, Sion become as a desert, Jerusalem for a curse. The House, our Sanctuary, and the Glory, over which our fathers uttered blessings, has become burnt with fire, and all its glorious customs*[2] *have fallen with*

[1] *and now.*—The copyist of Isa. 64. 8, 9 passes, by *homoioteleuton* from one καὶ νῦν to another.

[2] *all its glorious customs.*—The word 'customs' (ἔθη) was suggested by Otto in place of 'nations' (ἔθνη) in the MSS. If one must be retained the former is preferable, but J. probably followed the LXX, which has neither, but simply 'all our glorious things'. The Hebrew is 'all our precious things', as in Lam. 1. 11, *i.e.* the temple valuables.

it. And at these things Thou hast waited, O Lord, and kept silence, and hast humbled us exceedingly.[1]

6. Trypho said: Do you indeed intend to say that none of us shall inherit anything in the holy mountain of God?[2]

XXVI

1. And I replied: I do not mean that. But they who persecuted Christ, and still persecute Him, and do not repent, shall not inherit anything in the holy mountain. While the nations that have believed on Him, and have repented for all the sins they have committed—they shall inherit, with all the patriarchs and the prophets and the righteous men that have been born of Israel. Even though they do not keep sabbath nor are circumcised nor keep the festivals, they shall certainly inherit the holy inheritance of God. 2. For God says thus by Isaiah: *I the Lord God have called thee in righteousness, and will take hold of thy hand and will strengthen thee; and I have given thee for a covenant to the race, for a light to the nations, to open the eyes of the blind, to lead out of their chains them that are bound, and them that sit in darkness out of their prison-house.*[3] 3. And again: *Lift up a banner for the nations. For behold the Lord hath made it to be heard unto the end of the earth: Say ye to the daughters of Sion: Behold, the Saviour has come to thee, having His own reward and His work wrought out by Himself. And He shall call it a holy people, redeemed by the Lord; and thou shalt be called a city sought out, and not forsaken. Who is this that cometh out of Edom, (with) the redness of His*

[1] Isa. 63. 15—64. 12.
[2] The implication was made in § 1 and developed in the quotation.
[3] Isa. 42. 6 *sq.*

garments out of Bosra? This that is beautiful in His robe, ascending swiftly and possessing power? I recount righteousness, and judgment of salvation. 4. Why are Thy garments red, and Thy clothing as though from a trodden wine-press? Full of trodden grapes have I trodden the wine-press quite alone, and of the nations there was not a man with me; and I trod them down in anger, and crushed them as earth, and made their blood fall down to the earth. The day of recompense has come for them, and the year of redemption is here. And I looked and there was no helper, and I considered them and no one lent a hand; and my own arm wrought deliverance, and my anger was urgent; and I trod them down in my wrath, and let their blood fall down to the earth.[1]

XXVII

1. And Trypho said: Why do you select for citation only such parts as you choose out of the sayings of the Prophets, and make no mention of those that expressly bid us keep sabbath?[2] For thus it is said by Isaiah: *If thou turnest away thy foot from the sabbath, not to do thy own will on the holy day, and callest the sabbath delightsome, holy to thy God, and settest not thy foot to work, nor speakest any word out of thy mouth, then*

[1] Isa. 62. 10—63. 6.

[2] To T.'s objection that J. has omitted God's plain commands through the Prophets to keep the Sabbath J. replies,

(i) He repeated these by the Prophets because of your hard-heartedness, to lead you to repentance (§§ 2-4).

(ii) The Sabbath law was never wholly binding, or it would not have been right to offer sacrifices, and to circumcise, on sabbaths (§ 5, *cf.* xxix. 3). Bergmann (*Jüdische Apologetik*, 1908, p. 113) says these were not 'work' in the ordinary sense. True. But neither are such things as plucking corn and eating it (see our Lord's argument in Matt. 12. 1-8), and much less restoring a man to complete health (see His words in John 7. 21-4.

shalt thou be trusting on the Lord, and He will mount thee on the good things of the earth, and He will feed thee with the inheritance of Jacob thy father. For the mouth of the Lord has spoken it.[1]

2. And I replied: Not because such prophecies were against me, my Friends, did I leave them out, but because you have understood both in the past and in the present that, even though God commands you by all the Prophets to do the very things which He also commanded you by Moses, He ever cries out the same things, because of your hard-heartedness and unthankfulness towards Him; in order that even so you may some time repent and please Him, and may neither sacrifice your children to demons, nor be *partakers with thieves, nor lovers of gifts, nor followers after reward, not giving judgment for orphans and not heeding the judgment of a widow, nor even having your hands full of blood.* 3. For even *the daughters of Sion went with neck on high, and coying with glances from their eyes and trailing their dresses.*[2] For *even all men went astray,* He cries aloud, *all at once were unserviceable; there is none that understandeth, no, not one. With their tongues they deceived; an open tomb is their throat; the poison of asps is under their lips; ruin and misery are in their ways; and the way of peace they know not.*[3] 4. So that as at the first He gave you these commands because of your wickednesses, in the same way because of your persistence, or rather your intensity in them, by means of the same commands He calls you to remember and to know Him. But you are a people hard of heart, and without understanding, and

[1] Isa. 58. 13 *sq.*

[2] Isa. 1. 23; 3. 16.

[3] This quotation appears to be taken from Rom. 3. 11-17, unless the MS. of the LXX used by J. had already incorporated into Ps. 14 the verses that really belong elsewhere.

blind, and lame,[1] and *sons in whom is no faith,*[2] as He Himself says, *honouring Him only with the lips but in the heart far from Him, teaching your own teaching and not the things that are His.*[3]

5. Since, tell me, did God wish the high priests to sin, when they offered the offerings on the sabbath, or them that get circumcised, and also circumcise, on the sabbath-day, when He commanded that those that were born should be circumcised without fail on the eighth day in every case alike, even though it be the sabbath-day? Or could He not cause them that are born to be circumcised one day before or one day after the sabbath, if He knew it was wrong on the sabbaths? Or why did He not teach those also to do all this, who before the time of Moses and Aaron were called righteous, and were pleasing to Him, though they were not circumcised and had not kept the sabbaths?

XXVIII

1. Trypho said: We have already[4] heard you put this forward, and we paid attention to what you said, for, to say the truth, it deserves attention. And it does not seem good to me, as it does to most, merely to say that it seemed good to God (to act as He did), for this is ever the pretence of those who are unable to give an answer to the subject under discussion.

2. And I said: Since I draw my proofs and exhortations both from the Scriptures and from the facts themselves, do not put the matter off, or hesitate to

[1] *lame.*—This epithet seems never to be applied to the Jews in the O.T., but it may be J.'s application of a Greek verb in 1 Kings 18. 21; Ps. 18. 46, which is literally 'be lame'.

[2] Deut. 32. 20. [3] Isa. 29. 13. [4] See xix.

believe me, who am uncircumcised. It is but a short time that is left you[1] for coming over to us,[2] if Christ come suddenly, you will repent in vain, you will lament in vain; for He will not hear you. *Break up fallow ground for yourselves,* Jeremiah has cried to the people, *and do not sow over thorns. Circumcise to the Lord, and be ye circumcised in the uncircumcision of your heart.*[3] 3. Do not therefore sow into thorns and unploughed land, whence you have no fruit. Know Christ, and behold there is fair fallow, fair and rich in your heart. *For behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will visit their uncircumcision upon all who are uncircumcised, upon Egypt and upon Judah and upon Edom and upon the sons of Moab, because all the nations are without circumcision and every house of Israel is without circumcision in their hearts.*[4] 4. Ye see that God does not wish for this circumcision which was given for a sign; for it does not advantage either the Egyptians,[5] or the sons of Moab, or the sons of Edom. But though a man be even a Scythian or a Persian, yet has the knowledge of God and of His Christ, and keeps the eternal acts of righteousness, he is circumcised with the fair and profitable circumcision, and he is dear to God, and God rejoices over all his gifts and offerings. 5. But I will exhibit to you, my dear Friends, the words of God Himself, when He spake unto the people by Malachi, one of the Twelve Prophets. Now they are these: *I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord, and your sacrifices I will*

[1] *a short time that is left you.*—J. thought the Second Advent was near at hand.

[2] *for coming over to us.*—*proseleuseōs.*—So in xxiii. 3 J. calls Jewish converts to Christianity proselytes.

[3] Jer. 4. 3 *sq.*

[4] Jer. 9. 25 *sq.*

[5] *the Egyptians.*—See also *Barn.* ix. 6. Origen *c.* Celsus v. 47 *sq.*

not accept at your hands. Because from the rising of the sun to its setting My name has been glorified among the nations, and in every place sacrifice is offered to My name, and a pure sacrifice, because My name is honoured among the nations, said the Lord; but ye profane it.[1] And by David He said: *A people whom I knew not served Me; at the hearing of the ear it obeyed Me.*[2]

XXIX

1. Let all of us Gentiles come together and glorify God, because He has looked down upon us; let us glorify Him by the King of glory, by the Lord of hosts. For He hath taken pleasure even in the nations, and He receives the sacrifices more gladly from us[3] than from you. What account should I, to whom God has borne testimony, then take of circumcision? What need of that other baptism[4] to one who has been baptized by the Holy Spirit? 2. I think that by these arguments I shall be able to persuade even those who are of slight intelligence. For the words have not been fitted together by me, nor adorned by human art, but they were sung by David, proclaimed as good news by Isaiah, preached by Zechariah,[5] written down by Moses.[6] You recognize them, Trypho? They are laid up in your scriptures, or

[1] Mal. 1. 10-12. See on xli. 2.

[2] Ps. 18. 43 *sq.*

[3] *He receives the sacrifices more gladly from us.*—*cf.* Tert. *adv. Jud.* 5.

[4] *What need of that other baptism,* which Jewish proselytes received. *cf.* xiv. 1.

[5] *preached by Zechariah.*—J. has in mind Mal. 1. 11, see xiv. 8, note.

[6] *written down by Moses.*—The order David, Isaiah, Zechariah, Moses, seems strange to us but would appeal to T. For if he will not hear the Hagiographa, let him hear the Prophets, and if not these he must yield to the Law.

rather not in yours but in ours,[1] for we obey them, but you, when you read, do not understand their sense. 3. Be not therefore vexed, nor reproach us with the uncircumcision of our body, which God Himself formed, nor think it shocking that we drink hot water on the sabbaths;[2] since even God has ordered the governance of the world on this and on all other days alike, and the high priests have been commanded to make the offerings as on the other days so also on this, and such numbers of righteous men, although they practised none of these ordinances, have received testimony from God Himself.[3]

XXX

1. But charge it to your own wickedness, that God can even be falsely accused by them that have no sense, for not having always taught all men the same acts of righteousness. For to many men such subjects of God's teaching seemed to be irrational and unworthy of Him, for they had not received grace to know that He has called your people, when acting evilly, and being ill with disease of soul, unto conversion and repentance of spirit;[4] and that prophecy as having come forward after the death of Moses is eternal.[5] 2. And this, Gentlemen, has

[1] *in your scriptures, or rather not in yours but in ours.*—The O.T. belongs to Christians even more than to Jews. xlv-xlvii; lxxxii. 1; *Barn.* iv. 6 *sq.*; xiv. 4.

[2] *hot water on the sabbaths.*—No Jew may light a fire on the sabbath (Ex. 35. 3), or cook food (Ex. 16. 23). But the present custom of getting a Gentile to light the fire is probably very old. In any case food might be kept hot (Mishna, *Sabb.* iii and iv).

[3] Observe that the last few lines are a summary of much that has been already shown.

[4] *conversion and repentance of spirit.*—A paraphrase of Ps. 19. 7.

[5] *eternal.*—Ps. 19. 9.

been said by the Psalm.[1] And that we who have been wise by them acknowledge that they are *sweeter than* honey and the honeycomb,[2] is evident from the fact that we cannot be brought to deny His name even by the threat of death. And it is clear to all that we who believe in Him even ask Him that He will preserve us from *the aliens*[3] (namely the evil and deceitful spirits), as the word of prophecy says, using the figure of one of those who believe on Him. 3. For we entreat God that we may ever be preserved by Jesus Christ from the demons,[4] whom we used to worship and who are *alien* from the true religion of God, that after we have turned unto God we may by Him be spotless. For we call Him Helper and Redeemer, at the power also of whose name even the demons tremble, and to-day when exorcised by the name of Jesus Christ who was crucified in the time of Pontius Pilate,[5] who was governor of Judaea, are in subjection. For this is clear to all from the fact that the Father gave Him such great power that even the demons are subject both to His name and to the Dispensation[6] brought in by His suffering.

[1] *has been said by the Psalm.*—*i.e.* Ps. 19, see the next sentence, I. implies that he has already quoted it and says so expressly in lxiv. 7, but if so it has disappeared from our MSS.

[2] Ps. 19. 10.

[3] *ibid.*—*v.* 13. LXX, which read *zêdim* ('proud') as zârim ('strangers').

[4] *the demons.*—This description of idolatry as the worship of actually existent evil spiritual beings is common. On the power of the demons see also xlix. 8; lxxvi. 6; lxxxv. 2; cv. 3; cxi. 2; cxxi. 3. To lose all fear of demons is perhaps the first effect of Christian faith among uncivilized races.

[5] *who was crucified in the time of Pontius Pilate, who was governor of Judaea.*—Exorcism (lxxvi. 6; lxxxv. 2) is made more effective by reciting details. Even the recitation of the Apostles' Creed at Baptism had reference to abjuring evil spirits.

[6] *Dispensation.*—οἰκονομία. See J. A. Robinson on Eph. 1. 10.

XXXI

1. But if such great power, as has been shown, accompanied, and still accompanies, the Dispensation of His suffering, how great will that be which will be seen in His advent in glory? For as Son of man shall He come upon clouds, as Daniel indicated, angels coming with Him. 2. Now these are the words: *I beheld until thrones were set, and the Ancient of days was seated, having a robe white as snow, and the hair of His head was as pure wool. His throne was as a flame of fire, the wheels of it blazing fire. A stream of fire was flowing, coming forth from before Him. Thousand thousands were ministering to Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand were standing beside Him. Books were opened, and judgment sat.* 3. *I beheld then the voice of the great words which the Horn was speaking, and the Beast was swollen up, and his body perished and was given to be burnt with fire; and the rest of the beasts were removed from their dominion, and a time of life was given to the beasts extending to a period and a time. I beheld in a vision of the night, and behold One coming with the clouds of heaven as a son of man, and He came as far as the Ancient of days, and was present before Him, and they that stood by brought Him nigh.* 4. *And there was given Him authority and royal honour, and all the nations of the earth according to their races; and all glory was worshipping Him. And His authority was everlasting authority, such as shall be not taken away, and His kingdom shall not perish. And my spirit shuddered in my frame, and the visions of my head were troubling me. And I drew near unto one of them that were standing by, and I began to seek of him exact knowledge concerning all these things. He answered*

and told me, and the interpretation of the words he declared to me. These great beasts are four kingdoms, which shall perish from the earth, and shall not take over the kingdom for ever and for ever. 5. *Then I desired to examine accurately concerning the fourth beast, which was consuming everything and was exceeding dreadful, and his teeth were of iron and his claws of brass, devouring, and breaking to pieces, and all that remained over he was treading down with his feet; and about his ten horns on his head, and of the one that grew thereon, and by it three out of the former horns fell away, and that horn had eyes and a mouth speaking great things, and the mien of it surpassed the others. And I considered that horn making war with the saints and putting them to flight until the Ancient of days came, and He gave His judgment for the saints of the Most High, and the time arrived, and the saints of the Most High held the kingdom.* 6. *And there was told me concerning the fourth beast : There shall be a fourth kingdom over the earth, such as shall surpass all these kingdoms, and shall consume the whole earth, and throw it into confusion, and shall grind it smooth. And the ten horns —ten kings shall arise, and another after them, and this shall surpass the first ones in evil, and shall humble three kings, and speak words against the Most High, and shall throw down other saints of the Most High, and shall take to himself the alteration of seasons and times; and (all) shall be given into his hands for a season and seasons and half a season.* 7. *And the judgment sat, and they shall remove his rule to abolish it and to destroy it utterly. And the kingdom and the authority and the majesty of the places of the kingdoms that are under heaven were given to the holy people of the Most High to reign over an everlasting kingdom; and all authorities*

shall be made subject to Him, and they shall obey Him. Thus far is the end of the matter. I Daniel was taken with a great astonishment, and my frame was changed in me, and I kept the saying in my heart.[1]

XXXII

1. When I ceased Trypho said: Sir, these and suchlike passages of scripture compel us to await One who is great and glorious, and takes over the everlasting kingdom from the Ancient of days as Son of man.[2] But this your so-called Christ[3] is without honour and glory, so that He has even fallen into the uttermost curse[4] that is in the Law of God, for He was crucified.

2. To whom I replied: If, Gentlemen, it had not been said by the scriptures which I have already related,[5] that His form would be without glory and His generation not to be described, and that for His death the rich should suffer death, and that by His stripes we were healed, and that He would be brought as a sheep; and I had not expounded[6] that two Advents of His would take place, one in which He was pierced by you, and a second when

[1] Dan. 7. 9-28.—The relation of *vv.* 9-14 in J., the LXX, and Theodotion is shown in Swete, *Introduction, etc.* pp. 421 *sq.* For *vv.* 13 *sq.* see also Cyprian, *Test.* ii. 26, which is very similar.

[2] T. here regards 'the son of man' in Daniel vii. as the Messiah. So evidently did the writer of the *Similitudes of Enoch* (*cc.* 37-71), and 2 *Esdras* xiii, and as it seems Aqiba (*c.* A.D. 120) when he spoke of the 'thrones' of Dan. vii. 9 as prepared for God and for David (T. B. *Sanh.* 38*b*). So also R. Joshua b. Levi (*c.* A.D. 250) and R. Samuel ben Nachman (*c.* A.D. 270), but the phrase never became a Jewish title for the Messiah. See Dalman, *Words*, etc. pp. 242-9, and H. Ch. M. pp. 285-90.

[3] *But this your so-called Christ.*—The phrase suggests the reminiscence of a real discussion.

[4] *into the uttermost curse, for he was crucified.*—See lxxxix. 2 note.

[5] xiii. 4.

[6] *and I had not expounded.*—See xiv. 8.

ye will recognize Him whom ye pierced, and all your tribes will lament, tribe over against tribe, the women alone and the men alone,[1] I should seem to be making obscure and impossible statements. But now I am bringing all my proofs by all the words that I adduce from the passages of scripture, which are held by you to be holy and to belong to the prophets, because I hope that some one of you can be found to belong to [the seed] which, according to the grace given by the Lord of Sabaoth is left over unto eternal salvation. 3. In order therefore that the subject under discussion may be clearer to you, I will say to you also other words which have been spoken by blessed David, from which you will see that Christ has been called even Lord[2] by the Holy Spirit of prophecy, and that the Father who is Lord of all was leading Him up from the earth and seating Him on His right hand, until He should make His enemies His footstool. For this comes to pass from the time that our Lord Jesus Christ was taken up into heaven after His rising from the dead. For the times were nigh completion, and he that was to speak bold and blasphemous words against the Most High was already at the doors, who, Daniel declares, will hold dominion for *a season, seasons and half a season.*[3] 4. And ye, not knowing how long a time he must hold dominion, think otherwise; for you explain a *season* as a hundred years.[4] But if this is so, the man of iniquity must reign at least three hundred and fifty years, supposing we calculate the expression of holy Daniel, *and seasons,* as two seasons only.

[1] Zech. 12. 10-14.
[2] *even Lord.*—as J. will show from Ps. 110.
[3] Dan. 7. 25.
[4] *a 'season' as a hundred years.*—There does not seem to be any direct confirmation of J.'s statement, but it is thought to underlie a phrase in T. B. *Sanh.* 97b.

5. And all these things which I said by way of digression do I say unto you, in order that by obeying at last God's word against you, namely, *Ye are children without understanding,*[1] and again, *Therefore will I proceed further to remove this people, and I will remove them, and will take away the wisdom of the wise, and will hide the understanding of those of them that understand,*[2] you may cease leading both yourselves and them that hear you astray, and be learning from us who have been made wise by the grace of Christ.

6. These then are also the words which were spoken by David, *The Lord said to my lord : Sit on My right hand, until I place Thine enemies under Thy feet. A rod of power shall the Lord send out for Thee out of Sion, and rule thou as Lord in the midst of thy enemies. With Thee is the dominion in the day of Thy power,*[3] *in the splendours of Thy holy ones; from the womb before the morning-star did I beget Thee. The Lord sware, and will not repent : Thou art priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek. The Lord is on Thy right hand. He crushed kings in the day of His wrath. He shall judge among the nations; He shall fill corpses. Of a brook in the way shall He drink, therefore shall He lift up His head.*[4]

XXXIII

1. I am not unaware, I went on to say, that you dare to expound even this Psalm as spoken of king Hezekiah,[5] but that you are in error I will at once prove to you from the words themselves. We find : *The Lord sware and will not repent,* and *Thou art priest for ever after the*

[1] Jer. 4. 22. [2] Isa. 29. 14.

[3] *in the day of Thy power.*—The punctuation here is borne out by lxiii. 3.

[4] Ps. 110. [5] *of king Hezekiah.*—See lxxxiii. 1 note.

order of Melchizedek, and the context both before and after. But that Hezekiah has neither been, nor is, a priest of God for ever, not even you will dare to contradict. But that it is spoken about our Jesus, even the phrases themselves show. But *your ears are stopped and your hearts are callous.*[1] 2. For as for the phrase, *The Lord sware, and will not repent; Thou art priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek,* God, because of your unbelief, made it clear by an oath that He is High Priest after the order of Melchizedek, that is to say, that just as Melchizedek was written down by Moses as having been priest of God Most High, and was priest of those who were in uncircumcision, and blessed Abraham who was in circumcision[2] and who offered him tithes, so did God make it clear that He who was called by the Holy Spirit His everlasting priest and Lord, should be (priest) of those who were in uncircumcision. And those who are in circumcision and go to Him, that is to say, believe Him and seek blessings from Him, them too will He accept and bless. And that He will first be a lowly man, and then be exalted, the words at the end of the Psalm make plain. For *of a brook in the way shall He drink,* and, at the same time, *therefore shall He lift up His head.*

XXXIV

1. And, further, with a view to persuade you that ye have no understanding of the Scriptures, I will mention also another Psalm[3] spoken to David by the Holy Spirit,

[1] Isa. 6. 10.

[2] *Abraham who was in circumcision.*—An error; for he is blessed by Melchizedek in Gen. 14. 19, and is circumcised in 17. 24. The same error and the same argument occur in Tertullian *adv. Marc.* v. 9; *adv. Jud.* iii, and may have underlien J.'s words in xix. 4. See Introd., p. xxxiv. For Melchizedek see 9, note.

[3] Ps. 72; *cf.* lxiv. 5 *sq.*

which ye say is spoken with reference to Solomon who also himself became king. But it too has been spoken with reference to our Christ. Now you deceive yourselves by equivocal forms of speech. For where *the Law of the Lord* is said to be *blameless*[1] ye expound it not of that (law) which shall be after the Law given by Moses, but of this itself, though God cries aloud that He will appoint a new Law and a new Disposition.[2] 2. And where there is read: *O God, give Thy judgment to the king,*[3] since Solomon has been king ye say that the Psalm is spoken with reference to Him, though the words of the Psalm distinctly proclaim that it has been spoken with reference to the everlasting King, that is to say with reference to Christ. For Christ is proclaimed as King and Priest and God and Lord and Angel and Man and Chief Captain and Stone[4] and Child born, and liable to suffering[5] at first, then as going up to heaven and coming again with glory and having His kingdom for ever, as I prove from all the scriptures. 3. But that ye may perceive what I now say, I tell you the words of the Psalm.[6] These are they: *O God, give Thy judgment to the King and Thy righteousness to the Son of the King, to judge Thy people in righteousness and Thy poor in judgment. Let the mountains lift up peace for the people, and the hills righteousness. He shall judge the poor of the people, and save the sons of the needy, and shall humble the false accuser; and shall remain along with the sun, and before the moon, for generation and generation. He shall come*

[1] Ps. 19. 7. *cf.* lxiv. 7 *sq.*
[2] διαθήκη.
[3] Ps. 72. 1.
[4] *Stone* lxxvi. 1 note.
[5] *liable to suffering.* παθητός as often in the *Dialogue.* Cf. Irenaeus, *Preaching,* § 71.
[6] Ps. 72.

down as rain on a fleece, and as drops that drop on the earth. 4. *In His days shall righteousness arise, and abundance of peace until the moon be removed. And He shall act as lord from sea unto sea, and from rivers unto the ends of the world. Before Him shall Ethiopians fall down, and His enemies shall lick dust. Kings of Tarshish, and islands, shall bring gifts, kings of Arabia and of Sabba shall bring gifts, and all the kings of the earth shall do homage to Him, and all the nations shall serve Him; because He delivered the poor from the mighty, and the needy who had no helper.* 5. *He shall spare poor and needy, and save the lives of the needy; from usury and from injustice shall He ransom their lives, and precious shall His name be in their sight. And He shall live, and there shall be given to Him of the gold of Arabia, and they shall pray continually concerning Him; the whole day long shall they bless Him. And there shall be a stook of corn in the earth, above the tops of the mountains shall it be raised high, above Lebanon shall its fruit be, and they shall break forth in flowers out of the city as grass of the earth.* 6. *His name shall be blessed for ever; before the sun doth His name continue. And all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed in Him; all the nations shall count Him happy. Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel,*[1] *who alone*

[1] *the God of Israel.*—Otto's text is ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραηλ but Archambault, following C and the best MSS. of the LXX, has ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ and translates *le Dieu Israel*, 'Israel' then becoming a name for the pre-existent Christ, as in lxxv. 2 *sq*; c. l. 4; cxxiii. 8; cxxv. 3; cxxxv. 1. So J. says that 'Jacob' is one of the names of Christ, on the strength, as it seems, of Ps. 24. 6 (see xxxvi. 2 and 4). In reality ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ so often means, without any possible doubt, only 'the God of Israel' (*e.g.* Gen. 33. 20; Judith 6. 21; 13. 7), that any other meaning here is most improbable.

doeth wondrous things, and blessed be the name of His glory for ever and for evermore; and the whole earth shall be filled with His glory. Amen, Amen. And at the end of this Psalm which I have quoted is written: *The hymns of David, son of Jesse, are ended.*

7. And that Solomon was a great and notable king, in whose time the House which is called (the Temple) in Jerusalem[1] was built up, I am aware. But that nothing of all that is said in the Psalm fitted him, is clear. For neither did all the kings do him homage,[2] nor did he reign as far as the ends of the world, nor did his enemies fall down before him and lick dust. 8. Further, I dare also to mention things which are recorded in the Kings as done by him, namely that because of his wife he practised idolatry[3] in Sidon,[4] a thing which they who from among the nations have come by Jesus who was crucified to know God the Maker of all do not suffer to be done. On the contrary, they suffer every kind of outrage and punishment, even to death itself, that they should neither commit idolatry nor eat things offered to idols.[5]

[1] *cf.* xxii. 11.

[2] *neither did all the kings do him homage.*—For this implies more than 2 Chron. 9. 23 'and all the kings of the earth sought the presence of Solomon, to hear his wisdom, which God had put in his heart'. See also Tert. (*adv. Marc.* v. 9).

[3] *because of his wife he practised idolatry.*—This is denied by the Rabbis in T. B. *Sabb.* 56b. which says that Solomon was only guilty of failing to restrain his wives from idolatry. But perhaps the argument was hardly intended to be taken seriously.

[4] *in Sidon.*—Nowhere said in scripture, and improbable. Possibly the original was 'in Sion'. But 'he went after Ashtoreth the goddess of the Zidonians' (1 Kings 11. 5. *cf.* 33). Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* v. 9) does not mention Sidon in this connexion. See Introd., p. xxxiv.

[5] xlvi. 7 note.

XXXV

1. And Trypho said: Yet I learn that many of those who say they acknowledge Jesus and are called Christians[1] eat the things offered to idols, and say they receive no harm by doing so. 2. I answered: Even from the fact that there are such men, acknowledging that they are Christians, and that they acknowledge Jesus who was crucified to be both Lord and Christ, and yet do not teach His precepts, but rather those that issue from the spirits of error, we, the disciples of the true and pure teaching of Jesus Christ, become more faithful and stronger in the hope that was announced by Him. For the things which He anticipated and said would take place in His name, these things we see accomplished in sight and action.

3. For He said: *Many shall come in My name, clothed without in sheep skins, but within they are ravaging wolves.*[2] And: *There shall be divisions and heresies.*[3] And: *Beware of the false prophets, who shall come unto you, clothed without in sheep skins, but within they are ravaging wolves.*[4] And: *Many false Christs shall rise up and false apostles and shall lead many of the faithful astray.*[5] 4. There are therefore, and have been, dear Friends, many who have taught others to say and to do things godless and blasphemous, coming up to us in

[1] *Many . . . . that are called Christians.*—Evidently Gnostics to whom the title was not refused (*c.f.* I *Apol.* vii. 7) before the time of Tertullian (*de Praescript.* xxxvii. 'Si enim haeretici sunt, Christiani esse non possunt'). J. himself includes Socrates, Heraclitus, 'and those who are like them' among Christians (I *Apol.* xlvi. 3).

[2] Matt. 24. 5 combined with 7. 15.

[3] 1 Cor. 11. 18 *sq.* J. may be attributing the saying to our Lord.

[4] Matt. 7. 15.

[5] Matt. 24. 11, 24; Mk. 13. 22; *cf. infra* li. 2.

the name of Jesus; and are called by us from the surname of the men from whom each doctrine and opinion started. 5. For some in one way and some in another teach men to blaspheme the Maker of the universe and the Christ that was prophesied by Him as about to come, and the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. With none of whom do we hold communion, who know that they are godless and impious and unrighteous and lawless, and instead of worshipping Jesus acknowledge Him only in name. 6. And they say that they are Christians, just as they who are among the nations inscribe the name of God upon their idols[1] made by hands, and take part in lawless and godless rites.[2] And some of them are called Marcianites,[3] and some Valentinians, and some Basilidians, and some Satornilians,[4] and others by other names, each being named from the originator of the opinion, just as also each of those who think they are philosophers, as I said already in the beginning (of my discourse), thinks it right to bear the name of the father of that system.

7. So that not only from these things, as I said, are we aware that Jesus knew beforehand what was to take place after Him, but also from many other things which He said would take place for those who believe and confess Him as Christ. For even all that we suffer, when we are slain by those of our own household, He

[1] *inscribe the name of God upon their idols.*—As the effect upon the piece of wood is nothing, so is the assumption of the name of Christ by some persons.

[2] *rites.*—§ 1 referred to these.

[3] *Marcianites.*—Μαρκιανοί. Presumably followers of Marcianus, a Docetic, mentioned by Serapion Bishop of Antioch (*c.* A.D. 192), (see Euseb. *Ch. Hist.* vi. 12).

[4] *Satornilians.*—Presumably identical with the followers of a heretic attacked in Irenaeus I. xviii (xxiv), called Saturninus, (Satorninos, Satornilos).

told us beforehand would take place, so that in no respect can His word or action be considered blameworthy. 8. Therefore we pray,[1] both for you and for all others who are at enmity with us, that you may repent with us, and not blaspheme Christ Jesus,[2] who by His works and the miracles that even now take place by His name,[3] and by the words of His teaching, and by the prophecies that were prophesied of Him, is shown to be without blame and without reproach in all respects, and by believing on Him you may be saved in that His second advent which is to take place in glory, and may not be condemned by Him to the fire.

XXXVI

1. And he answered: Granting that even all this that you say[4] is true, both that Christ was prophesied as about to be liable to suffering, and that He has been called a Stone, and after His first advent, in which, according to the proclamation, He was to appear in a state liable to suffering, He was to come in glory, and, further, as Judge of all, and to be everlasting Priest and King—yet prove that this is He about Whom all this was prophesied.

2. I said: As you desire, Trypho, I will come to these proofs which you desire, in the suitable place. But for the present you will permit me first to call to mind such prophecies as I desire, in proof that Christ is called in parable by the Holy Spirit both God and Lord of

[1] xcvi. 3. [2] xvi. 4.

[3] *the miracles that even now take place by His name.*—Mentioned here only in the *Dialogue,* but commonly adduced by the Fathers as evidence of the truth of the Gospel. For a discussion of the subject see H. Chr. M., pp. 97-139.

[4] *all this you say.*—In xxxiv. 2.

Hosts and Jacob,[1] and that your expositors are, as God cries out, *without understanding,*[2] when they say that these sayings do not refer to Christ but to Solomon, when he brought in the tabernacle of witness into the temple which he built.

3. Now one of David's Psalms[3] is as follows: *The Lord's is the earth and the fulness of it, the world and all that dwell in it. He Himself founded it upon seas, and on streams did He prepare it. Who shall ascend unto the hill of the Lord, or who shall stand in His holy place? One innocent in hands and pure in heart, who never bare his soul in vanity, not swore in craft to his neighbour. 4. He shall receive blessing from the Lord, and mercy from God his Saviour. This is the generation of such as seek the Lord, as seek the face of the God of Jacob.*[4] *Lift up your gates, ye rulers, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting gates, and the King of glory shall enter in. Who is this King of glory? The Lord, mighty, and powerful in war. Lift up your gates, ye rulers, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting gates, and*

[1] *Jacob.*—See note 4.

[2] Jer. 4. 22.

[3] *Ps.* 24. J. here says that the Jews interpreted this Psalm of Solomon, and in lxxxv. 1, where he also treats of Ps. 24 at length, that some Jews interpreted it of Hezekiah and others of Solomon. No direct application of the Psalm to Hezekiah seems to be found in Jewish writings, and J.'s reference may be only to the general application of 'Messianic' passages to him (see Goldfahn), but the reference to Solomon is very common. T. B. *Sabb.* 30a 'when Solomon built the sanctuary he sought to bring the ark into the Holy of Holies. The gates clave together. Solomon said twenty-four forms of prayer, but no answer was given. He began to say, Lift up your heads, O ye gates, etc.'

[4] *the God of Jacob.*—This seems to be the basis of J.'s claim that Jacob is a name given to Christ (§ 2). This is no doubt ultimately due to the fact that the words 'the God of' are not in the Hebrew, though found in the LXX. See xxxiv. 6, note on 'the God of Israel'. Irenaeus considers Jacob a type of Christ (IV. xxxv. 3 [xxi. 3]). See also *Barn.* xi. 9 with Windisch's note.

the King of glory shall enter in. Who is this King of glory? The Lord of Hosts, He is the King of glory.

5. That Solomon therefore is not the Lord of Hosts has already been demonstrated. Rather is our Christ, when He rose from the dead and went up into heaven—then they who were appointed by God rulers in the heavens are bid open the gates of the heavens, that this very One who is King of glory may enter in, and may go up and sit on the right hand of the Father, until He has set His enemies as His footstool, as has been made plain by another Psalm.

6. For when the rulers in heaven saw Him with His form without form, and without honour and glory, they did not recognize Him,[1] and were enquiring: *Who is this King of Glory?* And the Holy Spirit answers them, either in the person of the Father or in His own person: *The Lord of Hosts, He is this King of glory.* For that none of those who stand at the gates of the temple of Jerusalem ever dared to say: *Who is this King of glory,* with reference to Solomon, glorious king as He was, nor with reference to the tabernacle of witness, every one will acknowledge.

XXXVII

1. And in the *diapsalma*[2] of the forty-sixth Psalm, I said, it is thus spoken of Christ: *God went up with a shout, the Lord with the voice of a trumpet. Sing praises to our God, sing praises; sing praises to our King, sing praises. Because God is King of all the earth, sing praises with understanding. God became King over the nations; God is seated on His holy throne. Rulers of (many) peoples were together with the God of Abra-*

[1] *they did not recognize Him.*—lxxxv. 1.
[2] *the diapsalma.*—The portion of the Psalm after *Selah.*

ham, for the mighty ones of earth are God's, they are greatly exalted.[1]

2. And in the ninety-eighth Psalm the Holy Spirit reproaches you, and informs us that He whom you do not wish to be King is in fact King and Lord of both Samuel and of Aaron and Moses and in fact of all the others. 3. Now these are the words of the Psalm: *The Lord became King, let the peoples rage; He that sitteth upon the Cherubim—let the earth be shaken. The Lord is great in Sion, and is high over all the peoples. Let them give thanks to Thy great name, for it is terrible and holy, and the King's honour loveth judgment. Thou didst prepare equity; judgment and righteousness didst Thou do in Jacob. Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship the footstool of his feet; for He is holy.* 4. *Moses and Aaron (are) among His priests, and Samuel (is) among them that call upon His name. They called upon the Lord*, says the passage, *and He heard them. In a pillar of a cloud was He speaking unto them. They were keeping His testimonies, and the charge which He gave them. O Lord our God, Thou heardest them; O God, Thou becamest propitious to them, and taking vengeance on all their devices. Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at His holy hill, for the Lord our God is holy.*[2]

XXXVIII

1. And Trypho said: Sir, it were well if we had obeyed our teachers, when they made a law that we should hold no converse with any of you,[3] and had not discussed

[1] Ps. 47. 5-9. [2] Ps. 99.

[3] *no converse with any of you.*—See also cxii. 4. It was but natural that the Rabbis should make such a rule, warning the uneducated against discussions with Christians. So T. B. *Aboda Zara* 27b. 'Let a man have no dealings with the heretics (*minim*),—nor get

these subjects with you personally. For you say many blasphemous things, thinking to persuade us[1] that this man who was crucified has been with Moses and Aaron, and has spoken to them in a pillar of a cloud, that he then became man and was crucified, and has ascended into heaven, and comes again on earth, and is to be worshipped.

2. And I answered: I know that, as the word of God said, this great wisdom of the Almighty God who made the universe is hidden from you.[2] Therefore I feel for you, and toil and strive that ye may understand these our utterances which seem to you so strange, and, if otherwise, that I myself may be guiltless in the day of judgment. For you will hear still other words[3] that will seem even more strange. But be ye not troubled, but rather become and remain more zealous hearers and investigators, despising the tradition of your own teachers, since they are convicted by the spirit of prophecy of not being able to perceive the things that were spoken by God, but rather of preferring to teach that which comes from themselves. 3. In the forty-fourth Psalm therefore have these sayings likewise been said of Christ. *My heart overflowed with good matter, I speak my works to the King. My tongue is the reed of a swiftly-writing scribe. Fairer in beauty than the sons of men, grace was poured out in Thy lips; therefore God blessed Thee for ever. Gird Thyself with Thy*

healing of bodily diseases from them—'for heresy (*mînûth*) attracts'. Even Eliezer ben Hyrcanos (*c.* A.D. 90-130) by his intercourse with Christians laid himself open to suspicion by both Romans and Jews (*Jew. Encycl.* v. 114).

[1] *thinking to persuade us.*—See Introd., pp. xxvii. *sq.*

[2] Isa. 6. 10; 29. 14; Jer. 5. 21; 1 Cor. 2. 7 *sq.*

[3] *other words.*—e.g. about Christ's generation, xlviii. *sqq.*, the rejection of the Jews and the subsequent call of the Gentiles, cix. *sqq.*

sword on Thy thigh, O Mighty One. With Thy fairness and Thy beauty even stretch Thy bow and prosper and reign, for the sake of truth and meekness and righteousness, and Thy right hand shall guide Thee marvellously. Thy weapons are sharpened, O Mighty One, peoples shall fall beneath Thee, in the heart of the enemies of the King. 4. *Thy throne, (even) God, is for ever and ever; the sceptre of Thy kingdom is a sceptre of equity. Thou didst love righteousness and didst hate iniquity; therefore God, Thy God, anointed Thee with the oil of gladness more than Thy companions. With myrrh, and oil of myrrh, and cassia, from Thy garments, from (the) ivory towers, out of which they made Thee glad. King's daughters were in Thy (circle of) honour; the Queen stood at Thy right hand, clothed in raiment shot with gold, arrayed in many colours. Hear, Daughter, and see, and incline thine ear, and forget thy people and thy father's house—and the King shall long for thy beauty, because He is thy Lord, and men shall worship Him.* 5. *And Tyre's daughter (is there) with gifts; the rich of the people shall entreat thy face. All the glory of the king's daughter is within, clothed with tunics fringed with gold, arrayed in many colours. Virgins shall be brought to the King after Him; they that are near her shall be brought to Thee. They shall be brought in joy and gladness, they shall be led unto the King's temple. Instead of Thy fathers were Thy sons born; Thou shalt set them as rulers over all the earth. I will remember Thy name in every single generation; therefore shall peoples give thanks to Thee for ever, and for ever and ever.*[1]

[1] Ps. 45.

XXXIX

1. It is nothing wonderful, I added, if you also hate us, who perceive these things and reprove the opinion of your hard hearts. For even Elijah, when interceding for you with God, says as follows: *Lord, Thy prophets they slew, and Thy altars they digged down; and I am left alone, and they seek my life.* And He answers him: *I have yet seven thousand men, who never bowed knee to Baal.*[1] 2. Just therefore as God did not at that time bring His wrath upon them, for the sake of those seven thousand, so now also He has not yet[2] brought the Judgment, nor has begun to bring it, because He knows that every day some are becoming disciples unto the name of His Christ, and are leaving the way of error, who also receive gifts,[3] each as they are worthy of them, being enlightened by the name of this Christ. For one receives the spirit of understanding, another of counsel, another of might, another of healing, another of foreknowledge, another of teaching, another of the fear of God.[4]

3. At this Trypho said to me: I would have you know that you are out of your mind when you say all this.

4. But I said to him. Learn, my good Sir, that I am neither mad nor out of my mind, but it was prophesied that after the ascent of Christ into heaven He would take us captive from error and would give us gifts. Now these are the words: *He went up on high, He took*

[1] Nearer to Rom. 11. 3 *sq.* than 1 Kings 19. 10, 14. 18 (Heb. and LXX). And so even in xlvi. 6.

[2] *not yet.*—The reason given for the delay (the conversion of others) is found also in I *Apol.* xxviii. 2; xlv. 1.

[3] See § 4.

[4] Seven gifts based upon, but not identical with, Isa. 11. 2 quoted *infra* lxxxvii. 2. *Cf.* 1 Cor. 12, 8-10, 28; Eph. 4. 11.

captivity captive, He gave gifts to men.[1] 5. We therefore who received gifts from the Christ who went up on high, prove from the words of the Prophets that you *who are wise in yourselves and prudent in your own sight*[2] are without understanding, and in lips alone honour God and His Christ. But we, who have been instructed of all the truth,[3] honour (Him) in deeds and in knowledge and in heart, even unto death. 6. But you perhaps for this reason hesitate to confess that this is the Christ (though the Scriptures and events[4] and what is done in His name[5] prove it), lest you should be persecuted by the rulers.[6] For these, by the work within you of the serpent, that evil and deceitful spirit, will not cease[7] slaying and persecuting those who acknowledge the name of Christ, until He comes again, and destroys (them) all, awarding to each his desert.

7. Trypho said:[8] Now therefore give us full reasons why He, who, you say, has been crucified and has ascended into heaven, is the Christ of God. For that Christ is proclaimed by the scriptures as even liable to

[1] Eph. 4. 8 quoting Ps. 68. 18, but unlike both Heb. and LXX. The Talmud, referring to Ps. 68. 18, says that Moses went up on Mt. Sinai and, having overcome the angels, received the Law which was to be given among men (T.B. *Sabb.* 88b, 89a. See further *Chr. E.* J. §§ 546 *sq.*)

[2] Isa. 5. 21; 29. 18.

[3] John 8. 31 *sq.*; 14. 6; 16. 13.

[4] In the lives of Christians.

[5] *i.e.* miracles and exorcisms. *cf.* II *Apol.* vi. 6.

[6] *you . . . hesitate . . . lest you should be persecuted by the rulers.*—Judaism was a *religio licita,* Christianity was not. While therefore it is true that Jews in Palestine were punished, both during and immediately after Barcochba's revolt, for practising Judaism, Christians as such were persecuted all over the empire. *cf.* xliv. 1.

[7] *will not cease.*—J. shows no sign of expecting the conversion of the Imperial House before the Return of Christ.

[8] *And Trypho said.*—J. dramatically represents T. as satisfied by proofs of the character and work of Messiah already adduced, and as impatient for the next stage in the argument.

suffering, and as to come again with glory, and to receive the kingdom of all the nations for ever, every kingdom being placed in subjection to Him, has been sufficiently proved by the scriptures already set forth by you. But prove to us that this is He.

8. I said:[1] It has already been proved, Gentlemen, for those who have ears, and also from the things that are acknowledged by you. But that you may not think that I am at a loss, and unable to draw up proofs for what you require, I will do at the suitable place,[2] as I promised.[3] 4. But now I will pursue the connexion of the subjects on which I have begun to address you.

XL

1. The mystery therefore[4] of the sheep, which God has bidden you sacrifice as the Passover, was a type of Christ, with whose blood they who believe on Him anoint their own houses, namely themselves,[5] corresponding to their

[1] *And I said.*—J. however prefers for the present to enlarge on the topic already discussed.

[2] *at the suitable place.*—xlviii *sqq.*

[3] *as I promised.*—xxxvi. 2.

[4] xl-xlii are a parenthesis, in which J. considers (1) the Passover (xl. 1-3), and the Day of Atonement (xl. 4, 5), as types of Christ; (2) the offering for Lepers (xli. 1-3), as a type of the Eucharist; (3) circumcision on the eighth day as a type of the true circumcision by Christ's resurrection (xli. 4); (4) the bells on the robe of the High Priest as a type of the Apostles, who were dependent on Christ (xlii).

[5] *their own houses, namely themselves.*—So, immediately following, 'the form in which God formed Adam became the house of the inbreathing that God gave'. Compare Philo, 'The body has been formed of earth, but the soul is of ether, being a fragment of Divinity.' For 'God breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul' (Gen. 2. 7) (*Leg. Alleg.* iii. 55 [§§ 161]) Kingsley wrote to Prof. Rolleston in 1862, 'I am glad to see that you incline to my belief, which I hardly dare to state in these days, even to those who call themselves spiritual, *viz.*, that the soul of each living being down to the lowest, secretes the body thereof, as a snail secretes its shell, and that the body is nothing more than the expression in terms of matter, of the stage of development to which the being has arrived' (*Life*, 1883, *c.* xix. pp. 246 *sq.*).

faith in Him. For that the form in which God formed Adam, became the house of the inbreathing that God gave, you can all perceive. And that also this commandment was given only for a season, I will now prove. 2. God does not allow the sheep of the Passover to be sacrificed at any other place than that *on which His name has been called,* knowing that there would come a time after Christ had suffered, when even the place of Jerusalem would be handed over to your enemies, and all offerings should completely cease to be.[1] 3. And that sheep which was commanded to be roasted whole was a figure of the suffering of the cross, by which Christ was to suffer. For when the sheep is being roasted it is roasted arranged in fashion like the fashion of the cross, for one spit is pierced straight from the lower parts to the head, and one again at the back, to which also the paws of the sheep are fastened.[2] 4. And the two goats[3] at the Fast that are commanded at the Fast, which by God's command must be alike,[4] of which one became the Scapegoat, and the other an offering, were an announcement of the two Advents of Christ; of one Advent, in which the elders of your people and the priests, laying their hands

[1] *cease to be.*—The destruction of Jerusalem shows that the Law was to come to an end.

[2] *fastened.*—A recent traveller describing in some detail the present method of sacrificing the Paschal lambs among the Samaritans, says the slain lambs 'are crucified on rough wooden crosses, head downwards, with the hind legs on the arms of the crosses' (J. E. Wright, *Round about Jerusalem,* 1918, p. 91).

[3] *the two goats.*—So Tertullian says that the scapegoat typifies the first coming of Christ in its contumely, and the other goat which was offered solemnly at Jerusalem His Return which is to be acknowledged by all (*adv. Jud.* xiv).

[4] *alike.*—So also *Barn.* vii. 6. Tert. *adv. Jud.* xiv. Although nothing is said about this in Leviticus it was the Jewish usage: 'The two goats of the Day of Atonement must be alike in appearance, stature, and price . . . even if they are not alike they are still fit' (Mishna, *Yoma* vi. 1).

on Him and putting Him to death, sent Him off as a scapegoat; and of His second Advent, because in the same place of Jerusalem you will recognize Him[1] who was dishonoured by you. For He was an offering on behalf of all sinners who wish to repent, and fast with the fast which Isaiah reckons such, when they pluck asunder (that is to say) *the knots of hard contracts*[2] and keep the other points likewise which are enumerated by him, as I have myself already related, which they do who believe Jesus. 5. Now that there is no permission for the offering of the two goats which were commanded to be brought at the Fast to take place anywhere save in Jerusalem, you are fully aware.

XLI

1. The offering of fine flour,[3] Gentlemen, I said, which was ordered to be offered on behalf of those who were being cleansed from leprosy, was a type of the bread of the Eucharist. For Jesus Christ our Lord ordered us to *do this in remembrance*[4] of the suffering which He suffered on behalf of those who are being purged in soul from all iniquity, in order that we should at the same time give thanks to God for having created the world with all that is in it for man's sake,[5] and also for having set us free from the evil in which we had (hitherto) been,

[1] *in the same place of Jerusalem you will recognize him.*—There seems to be an allusion to the fact that the two goats were solemnly chosen by lot in the Temple area (Mishna, *Yoma,* iii. 9).

[2] Isa. 58. 5, quoted at length in xv. 4. This is adduced to show the practical character of true repentance. The repentant man permits the hard contracts he had forced on the poor to be broken.

[3] Lev. 14. 10. Typical of the Eucharist, the pure sacrifice foretold in Malachi; *cf.* lxx. 4. J. is still harping on the hardness of heart which made the Jewish sacrifices unacceptable (§ 2).

[4] Lk. 22. 19.

[5] *for man's sake.*—So Hermas, *Mand.* XII. iv. 2. The Jews said the world was made for the sake of the Law or of Israel (see Rashi on Gen. 1. 1).

and for having destroyed the powers and the authorities[1] with a complete destruction by means of Him who became liable to suffering according to His will. 2. Wherefore God says thus concerning the sacrifices that were offered up by you at that time, speaking, as I said before, by Malachi, one of the Twelve: *I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord, and your sacrifices will I not accept at your hands. Because from the rising of the sun unto the setting My name has been glorified among the nations, and in every place incense is being offered to My name, and a pure sacrifice, because great is My name among the nations, saith the Lord, but ye are profaning it.*[2] 3. He speaks at that time, so long beforehand, concerning the sacrifices that are being offered to Him in every place by us Gentiles, that is to say, the bread of the Eucharist and likewise the cup of the Eucharist, saying also that we glorify His name, but you profane it.

4. Further, the commandment of circumcision, commanding you to circumcise all infants on the eighth day[3] without fail, was a type of the true circumcision, with which we were circumcised from error and wickedness, by Him who rose from the dead on the first day of the week, Jesus Christ our Lord. For the first day of the week, the first indeed of all the days that ever were, is further called the eighth according to the number of all the days of their cycle, and thus it ever remains the first.

[1] Col. 2. 15.

[2] Mal. 1. 10-12. Quoted *supra* xxviii. 5. The verses are applied to the Eucharist in the *Didache* xiv. 3 as here in § 3. But the context in Mal. makes the interpretation very improbable as a matter of exegesis. See also cxvi. 3; cxvii. 2 note.

[3] *circumcise . . . on the eighth day.*—xxiv. 1. The first day of a new week, on which Christ rose. *Barn.* xv. 9. If Stephen had not been interrupted would he have brought out this point (Acts 7. 8)? So in cxxxviii. 1 the mystery of the number eight is used of Noah and his family; *cf.* 2 Pet. 2. 5.

XLII

1. Further, the order that twelve bells[1] were to be pendent on the robe of the High Priest was a symbol of the twelve Apostles, who were dependent on the power of Christ the everlasting Priest, by whose voices all the earth was called with the glory and grace of God and His Christ. Therefore also David says: *Into all the earth did their sound go forth, and their sayings unto the ends of the world.*[2] 2. And Isaiah, as in the very person of the Apostles telling Christ that men believe not by hearing them but by the power of Him that sent them, says therefore as follows: *Lord, who believed our report? And to whom was the arm of the Lord revealed? We announced before Him as a child, as a root in a thirsty land,* and the rest of the prophecy as already stated.[3] 3. But his using the phrase as in the person of many, *We announced before Him,* and then adding *as a child,* makes it clear that the wicked[4] became obedient to Him, and submitted to His command, and all were as it were one child.[5] And this kind of thing may be seen in the case of the body. Though there are many members when numbered they altogether are called one, and it is a body. For a populace too and an assembly (*ecclesia*),[6]

[1] *twelve bells.*—The number is not mentioned in Ex. 28. 33 *sq.*; 39. 25 *sq.*, and perhaps was suggested by the twelve stones in the High Priest's breastplate (Ex. 28. 17-21). In T. B. *Zebachim* 88b the number of the bells is 72, 36 on each side. (That number would also, suit the number of the 'seventy' in some MSS. of Lk. 10. 1, 17). But R. Dosa says there in the name of R. Judah (b. Illai) that there were 36 in all, 18 on each side.

[2] Ps. 19. 4.

[3] Isa. 53; *cf. supra* xiii.

[4] *wicked.*—*Barn.* v. 9.

[5] *as one child.*—For they became one in Christ, the Child of whom the prophet speaks.

[6] The ἐκκλησία here mentioned is not the Church, but the legally-summoned gathering of Greek citizens.

though they are many men in number, yet as forming but one thing are called and addressed by one appellation. 4. And in fact all the other things, Gentlemen, I said, which were appointed by Moses, I can enumerate and prove to be types, and figures, and announcements of those persons who were foreknown as about to believe in Him, and similarly of those things which were to be done by Christ Himself. But since what I have already enumerated appears to me to be sufficient, I pass on and address myself to the subject in order.[1]

XLIII

1. As therefore circumcision began with Abraham, and with Moses sabbath and sacrifices and offerings and feasts, and it has been proved that these were appointed because of the hardness of the heart of your people, it was thus requisite that they should cease, in accordance with the will of the Father, at the coming of Him who was born Son of God by means of the Virgin[2] who was of the race of Abraham and the tribe of Judah and David, even Christ, who also was proclaimed as about to come as an everlasting Law[3] and new Disposition[4] for the whole world, as the prophecies which have been already stated signify. 2. And we who by Him drew near to God did not receive this circumcision according to the flesh, but one that is spiritual, which Enoch and those like him

[1] The parenthesis (xl. 1 note) ends here.

[2] *by means of* (διά) the Virgin. So often in J. The Valentinians appealed to this proposition for their docetic doctrine, see Irenaeus [I. i. 13 (vii. 2)]. Irenaeus himself uses ἐκ [I. ii. 1 (x. 1)]. Compare especially Tertullian, *De Carne Christi* xx.

[3] xi. 2 note 'a final Law'.

[4] xi. 2 note.

kept.[1] But we received it by our baptism, since we had become sinners, because of the mercy that is from God, and all ought to receive it in like manner.

3. I turn to speak about the mystery of His birth, for this now claims our attention. Isaiah spake thus about the descent of Christ Himself, as has been already written, in proof that it cannot be described by men: *Who shall declare His generation? For His life is taken from the earth, from the transgressions of my people was He led unto death.*[2] The prophetic spirit used these words to express the indescribable character of the descent of this Man who was about to die, that we sinful men might be healed by His stripes. 4. Further, that those who believe Him might be able to know the manner in which He has come into the world by birth, the spirit of prophecy prophesied as follows by the same Isaiah how it would be: 5. *And the Lord spake again to Ahaz, saying: Ask thee a sign from the Lord thy God in the depth or in the height. And Ahaz said: I will not ask, nor will I tempt the Lord. And Isaiah said: Hear now, O House of David. Is it a small thing with you to propose a contest with men? And how do you propose a contest with the Lord? Therefore the Lord Himself shall give you a sign. Behold the virgin shall conceive and bring forth a son, and his name shall be called*

[1] *spiritual* (circumcision), which Enoch and those like him kept, *cf.* xcii. 2. Goldfahn (p. 45) contrasts *Bresh. R.* on Gen. 5. 24 (Par. xxv. 1) 'R. Chama bar Hoshayah said, Enoch was not written in the scroll of the righteous, but in the scroll of the wicked. R. Aibu said, Enoch was a hypocrite; he was sometimes righteous and sometimes wicked. So the Holy One, blessed be He, took him up while he was in a state of righteousness.' This probably represents reaction on the part of Pharisaic teachers from the adulation of Enoch shown by the Apocalyptists. Rashi on Gen. 5. 22 says that Enoch was righteous but easily led away to do evil. On spiritual circumcision see xix. 2 note; *Barn.* ix. 4.

[2] Isa. 53. 8 quoted in xiii. 6.

Emmanuel. 6. *Butter and honey shall he eat. Before he knows or prefers evil he shall choose the good; because before the child knows good or ill, he refuses evil to choose the good. Because, before the child knows how to call father or mother he shall take away the power of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria in front of the king of the Assyrians. And the land shall be captured, which thou shalt bear with difficulty because of the two kings. And God shall bring upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days which have never yet come upon thee, from the day that Ephraim took away from Judah the king of the Assyrians.*[1] 7. Now that in the descent from Abraham according to the flesh no one has even been born, or said to have been born, of a virgin, save this our Christ, is evident to all. 8. But when you and your teachers dare to say that there is not even said in the prophecy of Isaiah: *Behold the virgin shall conceive* but 'Behold the young woman shall conceive and bring forth a son,' and ye expound the prophecy as referring to Hezekiah, who became your king, I will try in this particular to make a short exposition of it against you, and to prove that it has been said of Him whom we acknowledge to be Christ.

XLIV

1. For thus shall I be found guiltless in every respect as far as you are concerned, if, as I draw up my proofs, I do my uttermost to persuade you. But if you remain hard of heart, or weak in decision, because of the death to which Christians are destined,[2] and do not desire to

[1] Isa. 7. 10-16. See lxxxiv. 1 note.

[2] *because of the death to which Christians are destined.*—The persecution of Christians by Rome hardened the Jews against accepting Christ; *cf.* xxxix. 5.

agree to the Truth, you yourselves will clearly be to blame. And you utterly deceive yourselves, in supposing that because you are Abraham's seed[1] according to the flesh you will certainly inherit the good things which God has announced that He will give to men through Christ. 2. For no one can by any means receive any of these save they who have become in their mind like to the faith of Abraham, and have known all the mysteries,[2] I mean that one commandment was appointed for piety and the practice of righteousness, and another command and action was in the same way spoken either as referring to the mystery of Christ or on account of the hardness of your people's heart. And that this is so God said in Ezekiel when He was making a statement about this very subject: *If Noah and Jacob and Daniel demand either sons or daughters, it shall not be given them.*[3] 3. And in Isaiah He said thus of the very same matter: *The Lord God said: And they shall go out and see the limbs of the men that have trangressed; for their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be a spectacle for all flesh.*[4] 4. So that you must cut this hope

[1] *because you are Abraham's seed.*—*cf.* cxxv. 5; cxxxv. 3; cxl. 2; cxli. 2 *sq.*; Matt. 3. 9; Jno. 8. 33. Many passages from Jewish books bearing upon this are collected in Strack-Billerbeck on Matt. 3. 9.

[2] *and have known all the mysteries.*—For the key to the interpretation of the Law, as a whole and in detail, is to be found only in Christ.

[3] Ezek. 14. 20. See also xlv. 3; cxl. 3. The LXX is: 'Though Noah and Daniel and Job be in the midst of it . . . there shall be left them neither sons nor daughters.' The Heb. is: 'Though Noah, Daniel and Job be in it . . . they shall deliver neither son nor daughter.' In our text *Jacob* may be a mere slip for *Job*, or possibly inserted to mention expressly the great ancestor. The rest may be a mere paraphrase, bringing out vividly that even the best among the ancients fail in their claim to be able to ensure blessing to their descendants.

[4] Isa. 66. 23 *sq.* Transgression will bring punishment in spite of ancestry.

away from your souls, and take pains to recognize the way by which remission of your sins shall come to you, and the hope of the inheritance of the good things that have been announced. It is no other than this,[1] that you should recognize this Christ, and, washing yourselves in the laver[2] that was proclaimed by Isaiah for the remission of sins, live without sin henceforth.

XLV

1. Trypho said:[3] Even though I seem to interrupt these subjects, which you say must be examined, yet as the question which I desire to propound, is pressing, suffer me first to bring it forward.

And I said: Propound anything you like as it occurs to you. For after the propositions and answers I will try to resume the subjects upon which we have already entered, and to complete them.

2. Then he said: Tell me therefore: Shall they who have lived in accordance with the Law that was appointed by Moses live equally with Jacob and Enoch and Noah in the resurrection of the dead, or not?

3. I replied to him: When I said,[4] Sir, the words that were spoken by Ezekiel, *even though Noah and*

[1] *no other than this.*—Faith, baptism, avoidance of sin.

[2] *the laver,* of baptism, xiv. 1. The reference is probably to Isa. 1. 16, which Cyprian adduces (*Test.* i. 24); *cf.* Lactantius (*Instit.* iv. 18). *Cf.* xiii. 1; xviii. 2.

[3] T. now puts two questions: (1) xlv. Can those who observe the Law (apparently either Jews or Proselytes) be saved equally with those who lived before it and were saved? J. replies, Yes, by Christ, and even those among the Gentiles who do what is right. (2) xlvi. Can they who believe in Christ and also keep the Law be saved? J. distinguishes in his reply between two cases of this kind.

[4] *When I said.*—xliv. 2.

Daniel and Jacob were to desire the deliverance of sons and daughters, it should not be given them, but each should plainly be saved by his own righteousness, I said that they also who conducted their lives in accordance with the Law of Moses should equally be saved. For in Moses' Law too those things that are by nature good and pious and just have been laid down for those that obey and practise it, and such things as were appointed to be done on account of the hardness of the people's heart are equally recorded, which things also they that are under the Law used to practise. 4. Since[1] they who did the things that universally, and naturally, and eternally, are good, are pleasing to God, so shall they also be saved by means of this Christ of ours, in the resurrection equally with the righteous who were before them, Noah and Enoch and Jacob, and any others there may be; together with those who recognize this Christ as the Son of God. Now He was also before Morning Star[2] and Moon,[3] and endured to be made flesh and be born by this Virgin who was of the race of David, in order that by this dispensation[4] of God the serpent who did evil in the beginning, and the angels who became like to it, might be destroyed, and death be brought into contempt, and at the Second Coming of Christ Himself it might completely cease troubling them that believe Him and live acceptably to Him, for it will be no more. And then some will be sent into judgment and the condemnation of

[1] *Since.*—J. here goes further than T. and says that the non-proselyte Gentiles who do what is good shall be saved by Christ in the resurrection. *Cf. I Apol.* xlvi. 1-4, where Socrates and Heraclitus are included among 'Christians'.

[2] *before Morning Star.*—Ps. 110. 3. LXX. 'I have begotten thee . . . before the Morning Star.'

[3] *and Moon.*—Ps. 72. 5.

[4] *this dispensation.*—xxx. 3 note.

punishment with fire unceasingly, and others will live together in freedom from suffering, corruption, and distress, and in immortality.

XLVI

1. But, he asked me, if some persons even now desire to live keeping the institutions of Moses, and believe on this Jesus who was crucified, recognizing that He is the Christ of God, and that to Him it has been given to judge absolutely all men, and that the everlasting Kingdom is His—can they also be saved?[1]

2. I said in turn: Let us look together into this question also, whether it is possible to keep all the institutions of Moses at the present time.

He replied: No, for we are aware, as you said, that it is not possible to slay a passover-sheep elsewhere than in Jerusalem, nor to offer the goats that were commanded at the Fast, nor, in short, all the other offerings.

And I said: What the things are therefore which it is possible to keep, I pray you tell me yourself. For you will then be persuaded that one can most certainly be saved without keeping or performing these everlasting ordinances.

He said: I mean the observance of sabbath, and being circumcised, and keeping the monthly feasts, and washing, if one has touched anything forbidden by Moses, or after sexual intercourse.

3. And I said: Does it seem to you that Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and Noah and Job, and any other

[1] The question is answered in xlvii.

similarly righteous men before or after these, and, further, Sarah the wife of Abraham, and Rebecca the wife of Isaac, and Rachel the wife of Jacob, and Leah, and all the other women of that kind until the mother of Moses,[1] the faithful attendant,[2] though they kept none of these things, will be saved?

And Trypho answered: Was not Abraham circumcised and his posterity?

4. I replied: I am aware that Abraham was circumcised and his posterity. But I have already said at length why circumcision[3] was given them, and, if what has been said does not weary you, let us examine the subject again. Now you are aware that up to the time of Moses simply no righteous man ever kept any one of these things about which we have been making enquiry, or received any command to keep them, save that circumcision had its beginning from Abraham.

He said: We are aware of this, and we acknowledge that they are saved.

5. I answered: Ye perceive that on account of the hardness of the heart of your people God enjoined on you by Moses all such precepts, in order that by these many means you should always, and in every action, have God before your eyes, and not begin to commit injustice or impiety. For He also enjoined you to wear the scarlet dye,[4] in order that by its means forgetfulness of God

[1] *the mother of Moses.*—She is much more prominent in Rabbinic than in Christian literature. She is mentioned here not merely as the last holy woman before the Law, but as she who trained him who was the great recipient of it.

[2] *the faithful attendant.*—Num. 12. 7; Hebr. 3. 5. See also lvi. 1; lxxix. 4; cxxx. 1.

[3] *circumcision.*—See xix. 2 note.

[4] *the scarlet dye.*—τὸ κόκκινον βάμμα. So Otto with the MSS. But emend with Schürer (E.T. II. ii. p. 112) to ῥάμμα 'fringe'. For J. plainly refers to the command of Num. 15. 37-41.

should not come upon you; and He commanded you to gird yourselves with a phylactery[1] of certain letters written on very thin parchments, which[2] we assuredly consider holy, by these means pressing you ever to hold God in mind, and at the same time to have a sense of sin in your hearts.

6. But you have not the least mind of piety towards God, and even with such means you were not persuaded to cease committing idolatry. For, when, in the time of Elijah,[3] He was naming the number of them that had not bowed knee to Baal, He said they were only seven thousand in number, and similarly in Isaiah He convicts you of having even sacrificed your children to idols.[4] 7. But we, because we will not sacrifice to those to whom we used to sacrifice of old, endure punishment to the uttermost, and when we are put to death we rejoice,[5] believing that God will raise us up by His Christ, and will make us incorruptible, and free from suffering, and immortal. And we learn that the ordinances made on account of the hardness of the heart of your people contribute nothing to the practice of righteousness and of piety.

But why 'scarlet', for the threads were to be hyacinthine blue? The word is probably a gloss on the false reading 'dye' made by a copyist ignorant of Jewish customs, who had in his mind the scarlet rope of Rahab; *cf.* cxi. 4.

[1] *a phylactery.*—A small square box bound by thongs on the left arm, and also one on the head, during prayer. Each box contains Ex. 13. 1-10, 11-16; Deut. 6. 4-9, 11. 13-21, written on parchment in Hebrew.

[2] *which.*—i.e. the letters. We Christians acknowledge the sanctity of the words.

[3] *Elijah.*—xxxix. 1 note.

[4] Isa. 57. 5.

[5] *when we are put to death we rejoice.*—The Christians of the second century gladly endured anything rather than disgrace their faith. They hoped that all such suffering would be more than made up to them. See xxxiv. 8; xcvi. 2; cx. 4; cxxi. 2; cxxx. 2.

XLVII

1. Trypho enquired again :[1] If a man, aware that this is so, after he has also plainly known that this is the Christ, and believed and obeyed Him, wishes to keep these precepts also—shall he be saved?

And I : In my opinion, Trypho, I say that such a man will be saved, unless he strenuously does his very utmost to persuade others—I mean those of the Gentiles who have been circumcised by Christ and are free from error—to keep the commandments that he does, saying that they will not be saved unless they keep them. For this is what you yourself did at the beginning of our discussion, declaring that I shall not be saved unless I keep them.

2. He answered : Why then do you say : 'In my opinion such a man shall be saved?' Are there any who say that such persons shall not be saved?

There are, Trypho, was my reply, and persons who are bold enough not even to join with such in conversation or meals ; with whom I myself do not agree. But if they, because of the weakness of their mind, desire to keep such of the sayings of Moses as are now possible—which we perceive were appointed because of the hardness of the people's heart—while they still hope on Christ, and also desire to keep those ordinances of the practice of righteousness and of piety which are everlasting and in accordance with nature, and deliberately choose to live

[1] T. had asked the question in xlvi. 1. J. replies tenderly as regards the observance of the Law by Jewish Christians so long as they do not insist on Gentile believers observing it also. Jerome on the contrary is very harsh, holding that the former are neither Jews nor Christians. See his Letter to Augustine (Ep. cxii. 12-17, in Vallarsi i. coll. 745-751).

with Christians and believers, as I said before, without persuading them either to receive circumcision like themselves, or to keep sabbath, or to observe other things of the same kind—I declare that we must fully receive such, and have communion with them in all respects, as being of one family and as brothers. 3. But if, Trypho, I said, they who are of your race say they believe on this Christ of ours, and in every way compel those who are of Gentile birth and believe on this Christ to live in accordance with the law appointed by Moses, or choose not to have communion with them that have such a life in common—these also in like manner I do not accept. 4. Now they that follow their advice, and live under the law, as well as keep their profession in the Christ of God, will, I suppose, perhaps be saved. But they that once professed and recognized that this is the Christ, and for some cause or other passed over into the life under the Law, denying that thi sis the Christ, and do not repent before death, cannot, I declare, in any wise be saved. And in the same way I declare that they of the seed of Abraham who live after the Law, and believe not on this our Christ before the end of their life, will not be saved, and especially they who in the synagogues have anathematised, and still anathematise,[1] those who believe on that very Christ, in order that they may obtain salvation and be freed from the punishment of fire. 5. For *the kindness of God and His love toward man,*[2] and the immeasurable extent of His riches, hold him that repenteth of his sins (as He indicates by Ezekiel), as righteous and sinless; and He also recognizes him who changes from piety, and the practice of righteousness, to iniquity and impiety as a sinner, and

[1] *anathematise.*—xvi. 4 note; xcv. 4. [2] Tit. 3. 4.

unrighteous, and ungodly.[1] Therefore also our Lord Jesus Christ said: 'In whatsoever I overtake you, in that will I also judge (you)'.[2]

XLVIII

1. Trypho said:[3] We have now heard your opinion on these subjects. Take up and finish your discourse where you left off, for it seems to me to be somewhat strange and wholly incapable of proof. For your assertion that this Christ existed, and was God, before all ages, then that He was even born and became man and suffered, and that He is not man by origin, seems to me to be not only strange but even foolish.

2. To this I replied: I know that the matter seems to be strange, and especially to those of your race who have never desired either to perceive or to do the things

[1] Ezek. 33. 12-20.

[2] This Logion is quoted also by Clement Alex: in *Quis dives salvus* xl., and elsewhere, in some MSS. introducing it by 'God saith through the prophet', with perhaps a reference to Ezek. 33. 16-20. J. alone attributes it directly to Christ, perhaps because he is so full of the thought that Christ was speaking in the O.T. For its substance, *cf.* R. Aibu's saying about Enoch quoted in xliii. 2 note. See also *Barn.* iv. 9; *Did.* xvi. 2 (See Hennecke, *Handb. zu den N.T. Apokryphen,* 1904, p. 14).

[3] The subject of the pre-existence of Christ is now discussed, in accordance with J.'s promise in xxxix. 8. Observe (1) the clearness with which T. states the orthodox Christian doctrine; (2) the fact that J. says that even if he cannot prove it, and can only show that Jesus 'has come to be Christ by God's selection' (§ 3, *cf.* xlix. 1), yet He ought to be acknowledged as such by the Jews; (3) J. himself however will hold fast by the doctrine of the pre-existence, even if the majority of Christians should be against him, for Christ told him to obey not men but scripture; (4) Apart from passages in the O.T., which, naturally are in dispute, there does not seem to be any evidence that pre-Christian Jews believed in the pre-existence of Messiah. Passages quoted to that effect are in Cabbalistic writings (the dates of which are very disputed), or in late Midrashim.

of God, but rather those of your teachers, as God Himself cries out.[1] However at the present point, Trypho, I said, the fact that He is the Christ of God is not destroyed, if I cannot prove that He existed beforehand as the Son of the Maker of the universe, being God, and that He has been born man by the Virgin. 3. It has however been completely proved that this is the Christ of God, whoever He eventually is, and even if I do not prove that He existed beforehand, and endured, according to the will of the Father, being born man of like passions with us, having flesh, it is right that I should be said to have erred in this respect alone, but it is not right to deny that this is the Christ, if He should appear to have been born man of merely human origin, and is proved to have come to be Christ by God's selection. 4. For, my Friends, I said, there are some of your race[2] who acknowledged Him to be Christ, yet declare that He was man of merely human origin; with whom I do not agree, nor would I even do so even though most of those who hold the same opinion as myself were to say so, since we have been commanded by Christ Himself not to obey the doctrines of men but those proclaimed by the blessed Prophets and taught by Him.[3]

[1] Isa. 29. 13.

[2] *some. . . . . of your race.*—So the MS. C., but Otto reads 'our', which is preferable at first sight. For J. seems to say that some of us Christians ('race' then referring not to nationality but belief, *cf.* cxxxv. 3; cxxxviii. 2; *cf.* Aristides' four classes of men, Barbarians, Greeks, Jews and Christians, *Apology* ii.) held that Jesus was at first only man. Yet probably J. means that some of 'your' Jewish race (for the Ebionite Christians were Jewish) believe that, and yet accept Him as Christ. For this alone seems to fit xlix. 1, where even T. shows himself inclined to acknowledge the Messiahship of Jesus on the condition that He is regarded as at first only human, and has other accompanying signs of Messiahship.

[3] Matt. 15. 3-9.

XLIX

1. Trypho said: To my mind, however, they who say He has been man, and has been anointed, by selection, and has become Christ, speak with greater acumen than you and yours who say what you now affirm. For all of us Jews expect that Christ will be man of merely human origin, and that Elijah[1] will come and anoint Him. But if this man seems to be the Christ, one must certainly acknowledge that He is man of merely human origin. Yet as Elijah has not come I declare that He is not even Christ.

2. Then I in turn asked him: Does not the word by Zechariah[2] say that Elijah will come before that great and terrible Day of the Lord?

He answered: Most certainly.

If therefore the word compels you to acknowledge that it was prophesied that there would be two Advents of Christ, one in which He will appear liable to suffering, and without honour and form; and the other, in which He will come in glory and as Judge of all, as has been proved earlier at some length,[3] shall we not perceive that the word of God has proclaimed that Elijah will be the forerunner of the great and terrible Day, namely, His second Advent?

Most certainly, he answered.

3. And so our Lord, I said, charged us in His doctrines that this very thing would take place, saying that Elias also would come.[4] And we know that this will take place when our Lord Jesus Christ is about to come in glory out of heaven, just as the spirit of God that was in

[1] *Elijah.*—viii. 4, notes.
[2] *the word by Zechariah.*—Really Mal. 4. 5. See xiv. 8, note.
[3] xiv. 8; xxxii. 2. [4] Matt. 17. 11.

Elijah, that is to say in John (who was a prophet in your race, and after whom no other prophet has ever appeared among you) came forth as the herald of His first appearance. For John, seated by the River Jordan, cried aloud: *I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but He that is mightier than I shall come, whose sandals I am not fit to carry; He shall baptize you with (the) Holy Ghost and fire. Whose fan is in His hand, and He shall thoroughly purge His threshing-floor, and shall gather the wheat into the barn, but the stubble He shall burn with fire unquenchable.*[1] 4. This very Prophet did Herod your king shut up in prison, and when Herod's birthday was being celebrated, and his niece was dancing in a way that pleased him, he told her to ask whatever she should desire. The mother of the girl suggested to her to ask for the head of John who was in the prison. And when she had asked, he sent and commanded the head of John to be brought on a charger. 5. Therefore also our Christ spoke, when He was still on earth, to those who were saying that Elijah must come before Christ: *Elijah indeed will come and will restore all things; but I say to you that Elijah has come already, and they recognized him not, but did to him whatsoever they would.* And it is written: *Then the disciples understood that He spake to them about John the Baptist.*[2]

6. Then Trypho said: This phrase also of yours seems to me strange, that God's spirit of prophecy which was in Elijah has also been in John.

To this I replied: Does it not seem to you that the same thing happened in the case of Joshua, the son of Nun, who received the leadership of the people in succession

[1] Matt. 3. 11 *sq.*; Lk. 3. 16 *sq.* [2] Matt. 17. 11-13.

after Moses, when Moses was told to lay his hands on Joshua,[1] God Himself saying: *And I will transfer some of the spirit that is in thee to him*?[2]

7. He answered: Most certainly.

As therefore, I say, while Moses was still among men, God transferred some of the spirit that was in Moses to Joshua, thus also was God able to cause spirit from Elijah to come upon John, in order that, as Christ appeared without glory at His first Advent, in the same way also the first Advent of the spirit, which ever remained unsullied in Elijah, might be seen to be without glory, as was that first Advent of Christ. 8. For the Lord is said to *fight with hidden hand against Amalek,*[3] and you will not deny that Amalek fell. But if it is said that only in the glorious Advent of Christ Amalek will be fought, what kind of fruit[4] will that word of Scripture have which says *with hidden hand God fights with Amalek*? You can perceive that some hidden power of God belonged to Christ in His crucifixion, at whom even the demons tremble,[5] and, in fact, all the powers and authorities of the earth.[6]

[1] Num. 27. 18 (*cf.* Deut. 34. 9), referring to Joshua directly, as does Num. 27. 20 'put of thine honour upon him'.

[2] Num. 11. 17, referring to the Seventy Elders. It therefore shows the principle only. Aben Ezra on this passage says: 'The Spirit is like wisdom, and if some of the spirit of Reuben is given to Simeon, the spirit of Reuben is not diminished, but remains as it was; compare a lamp.'

[3] *to fight with hidden hand against Amalek.*—Ex. 17. 16 (LXX)] takes Amalek as the type of the spiritual and human opponents of the true Israel, and 'hidden' as indicating God's present, but unseen, activity against them. *Barn.* xii. 9 applies *v.* 14 to the second advent. 'For the Son of God shall destroy from the roots the whole house of Amalek in the last days'.

[4] *what kind of fruit.*—*cf.* 'if the oracles of Apollo shall bear fruit', *i.e.* be fulfilled, Aesch. *Theb.* 618.

[5] Jas. 2. 19.

[6] *all the powers and authorities of the earth,* who are the instruments of the spiritual forces. cxi. 2 note.

L

1. Trypho said: You seem to me to have passed through much controversy with many people about all the subjects under discussion, and therefore are ready to answer everything you are asked. Answer me then first how you can prove that there is another God[1] besides the Maker of the universe, and then you shall prove that He endured even to be born by means of the Virgin.

2. I said: Allow me first to say some words out of the prophecy of Isaiah, which were spoken about that office of forerunner in which John, who was both Baptist and prophet, was the forerunner of this our Lord Jesus Christ Himself.

He said: By all means do so.

3. I replied: Isaiah therefore uttered this prediction concerning the forerunning of John. *And Hezekiah said unto Isaiah: The word of the Lord is good, which He spake: Let there be peace and righteousness in my days.*[2] And, *Comfort ye the people; speak, ye priests, to the heart of Jerusalem and comfort her, because her humiliation is completed; her sin is loosed, because she received at the hand of the Lord double of her sins. The voice of one crying in the wilderness: Prepare ye the ways of the Lord, make ye the paths of our God straight. Every ravine shall be filled up and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and all the crooked places shall be straight, and the rough places be smooth ways; and the glory of the Lord shall be seen, and all flesh shall see the salvation of God, because the Lord hath spoken.* 4. *The voice of*

[1] *another God.*—The question is repeated in lv. 1, and then answered.

[2] Isa. 39. 8, which immediately precedes the next quotation, although 'and' is placed between them.

one saying : Cry ! And I said : What shall I cry ? All flesh is grass, and all man's glory as the flower of grass. The grass withered, and the flower of it fell off—but the word of the Lord remaineth for ever. Go up on a high mountain thou that bringest good news to Sion; Lift up thy voice with strength, thou that bringest good news to Jerusalem. Lift ye it up, be not afraid. Say to the cities of Judah : Behold your God; the Lord, behold, He cometh with strength, and His arm cometh with authority. Behold, the reward is with Him, and the work in front of Him. As a shepherd shall He shepherd His flock, and with His arm shall He gather lambs, and her that is with child shall He encourage. 5. *Who ever measured the water with His hand, and the heaven with a span, and all the earth with one grasp ? Who set the mountains by a weight, and the glens by a balance ? Who ever knew the mind of the Lord, and who became His counsellor to instruct Him ? Or with whom took He counsel, and who instructed Him ? Or who showed Him judgment ? Or who made known to Him the way of understanding ? All the nations are as a drop from a bucket, and as the turn of a scale were they reckoned, and shall be counted as spittle. Even Lebanon was not sufficient to burn, and the four-footed beasts not sufficient for a burnt-offering, and all the nations were nothing, and were counted as nought.*[1]

LI

1. When I ceased Trypho said : Yet all the words of the prophecy which, Sir, you adduce, are ambiguous, and contain nothing decisive in proof of your argument.

[1] Isa. 40. 1-17.

I replied: If indeed prophets had not ceased in your race, Trypho, but still appeared, later than this John of whom we speak, perhaps the sayings might be considered ambiguous. 2. But if John came first crying out to men to repent, and Christ then came, while John was still stationed at the River Jordan, and made him cease prophesying and baptizing, and preached the Gospel, Himself saying that the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand, and that He must suffer many things of the Scribes and Pharisees, and be crucified, and rise on the third day, and stated beforehand that He would come again in Jerusalem and then eat and drink with His disciples,[1] and in the meantime before His Advent, as I have said already,[2] that there could be heresies,[3] and men who would prophesy falsely in His name—as is evidently the case—how is there still room for doubt, when you can be persuaded by facts? 3. Further, He spoke about there being no more a prophet in your race, and about recognizing the fact that the new Disposition,[4] which had long since been proclaimed by God as about to be appointed, was now already present, that is, that He Himself was the Christ: *The Law and the Prophets were until John the Baptist; from which time the Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence, and violent men take it by force. And if ye choose to receive it, he is Elijah who was about to come. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.*[5]

[1] *and then eat and drink with His disciples.*—as J. connects this with 'coming again in Jerusalem' he is probably thinking of the millennium (Lk. 22. 18, 30); *cf.* lxxxi. 4 note.

[2] xxxv. 3. See also lxxx. 3 *sq.*

[3] *heresies.*—αἱρέσεις C. and Otto have priests ἱερεῖς, an error of sound; *cf.* xxxv. 3.

[4] *Disposition.*—xi. 2 note.

[5] Matt. 11. 12-15.

LII

1. It was prophesied by the patriarch Jacob that there would be two Advents of Christ, and that in the first He would be liable to suffering, and that after He had come there would be neither prophet nor king in your race, as I have brought forward, and that the Gentiles, believing on the Christ who was liable to suffering, would look forward to His coming again. For this reason,[1] I said, the Holy Spirit had spoken these things in parable and obscurely. 2. And I added that He spake thus: *Judah, thy brethren praised thee; thy hands are on the back of thine enemies; the sons of thy father shall worship thee. A lion's whelp is Judah; from a shoot wentest thou up, my son. He couched and lay down as a lion and as a whelp; who shall arouse him? There shall not fail a ruler out of Judah, and a leader out of his loins, until those things that are reserved for him shall have come; and He shall be the expectation of nations, binding unto a vine His colt, and to the vine-tendril His ass's colt. He shall wash His robe in wine, and His garment in the blood of the grape. His eyes are sparkling from wine, and His teeth are white as milk.*[2]

3. That therefore neither prophet nor ruler ever ceased in your race, since it took its beginning, until Jesus Christ lived and suffered, you will not be impudent enough to dare to say, nor can you prove it.

For although you say that Herod, at whose hands He suffered,[3] was from Ascalon,[4] you still say that there was

[1] *for this reason.*—*i.e.* lest the Jews should tamper with them if they had been too clear; *cf.* cxx. 5.

[2] Gen. 49. 8-12. J. first considers *v.* 10. See cxx. 4 note and I *Apol.* xxxii. *cf. Ch. E. J. P.*, §§ 144-151.

[3] *Herod, at whose hands He suffered.*—J. may be confusing Herod Antipas with his father, but not necessarily so. He may be thinking of the heathen origin of Antipas. See the next note.

[4] *Herod . . . from Ascalon.*—So more precisely Julius Africanus

a High Priest in your race, so that, as you had also one at that time who, in accordance with the Law of Moses, both offered offerings and kept the other precepts of the Law, and as there were prophets in succession until John (even when your people was led away to Babylon, your land laid waste and your holy vessels carried off), there never ceased a prophet from among you who was lord and leader and ruler of your people. For the spirit in the prophets used to anoint and appoint even your kings.

4. But after the appearance and death of Jesus our Christ in your race there has been no prophet anywhere, nor now exists, and, further, you have ceased to be under your own kings, and, in addition, your land has been laid waste, and left *as a store-house of fruits (in a garden of cucumbers).*[1] But in uttering by means of Jacob the expression: *And He shall be the expectation of nations,*[2] He signified by figure His two Advents, and also that the Gentiles should believe Him, which, though late,[3] you can

(Eusebius *Ch. Hist.* I. vi. 2 *sq.* and vii. 11), saying that Antipater, father of Herod the Great, was the son of a temple slave called Herod at Ascalon, and an Arab woman Kuprine (*Demonstration* viii. 1, p. 374b), and was carried off by the Idumaeans in a raid. *cf.* Dionysius bar Salibi on Matt. 2. 22 (Scriptores Syri. vol. xcviii, p. 120. Therefore to J.'s argument that in accordance with Gen 49. 10 Jewish kings lasted until the time of Christ, the Jews replied that Herod, *i.e.*, Herod the Great, was not a Jew. Eusebius (*ibid.*) referring to Gen. 49. 10, says bluntly, 'Under Augustus, Herod, the first foreigner, was given the kingdom of the Jews by the Romans.' In any case, adds J., it cannot be denied that the High Priesthood and the sacrifices lasted during the lifetime of Jesus, and came to an end soon afterwards.

[1] Isa. 1.

[2] Gen. 49. 10. Another part of this verse is also fulfilled, the promise that we Gentiles should believe on Christ, and look forward to His return.

[3] *though late,* ὀψέ ποτε. Perhaps we should emend to ὄψει as in lxxxvii. 11 ('as you also can plainly see'); *cf.* xcvi. 2.

see for yourselves. For we, who from among all the nations have become by our faith in Christ righteous worshippers of God, look forward to His coming again.

LIII

1. And the clause *Binding His colt unto a vine, and to the vine-tendrill the ass's colt,*[1] was a foretelling both of the works which should be done by Him at His first Advent, and likewise of the Gentiles who should believe Him. For these were like a colt unbroken that had no yoke on its neck, until this Christ of ours came, and sent by His disciples and made disciples of them,[2] and they bare the yoke of His word, and subjected their back to endure everything, because of the good things to which they looked forward, and which had been promised by Him.

2. And in truth an ass[3] with its colt, bound in a certain entrance of a village called Bethphage, when our Lord Jesus Christ was about to enter into Jerusalem, did He command His disciples to bring to Him, and He sat upon it, and entered into Jerusalem. This, after having been expressly foretold as to be done by Christ, when it was done by Him and known to others, made it plain that He was Christ. Yet, when all these things have taken place, and are proved from the Scriptures, ye are still hard of heart!

3. But it was prophesied by Zechariah, one of the Twelve, that this should take place, in the following

[1] Gen. 49. 11. The unbroken colt represents the Gentile, the ass the Jewish Christians (§ 4). So too Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.*, Vallarsi iii. *c.* 376) *cf.* Chrysostom on Isa. 2. 2 (Gaume, vi. 26 C, D) and on Genesis (Gaume iv. 740 D).

[2] *made disciples of them.*—The word is the same as in Matt. 28. 19.

[3] *an ass.*—Gen. 49. 11 is also fulfilled in Matt. 21. 1-11.

words: *Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Sion, shout aloud, proclaim, O daughter of Jerusalem. Behold, thy King shall come to thee, righteous, and Himself saving (thee), and meek, and poor, riding upon a beast of burden and an ass's colt.*[1]

4. Now that the prophetic spirit, as well as the patriarch Jacob, mentioned at that time also an ass, a beast of burden, together with her colt as being in His possession, and further that He bade His disciples, as I have already said, bring forth the beasts, was a fore-announcement of those of your synagogue who should believe on Him, and also of those who should come from the Gentiles. For as the unbroken colt was a figure of those from among the Gentiles, so also the ass which was broken to the yoke was of those from among your people. For the Law which came to you through the Prophets[2] you have laid upon you.

5. Further, it was prophesied by the prophet Zechariah, that this Christ should be smitten and His disciples scattered, which also has come to pass. For, after He was crucified, His disciples that were with Him were scattered, until He rose from the dead, and persuaded them that it was thus prophesied concerning Him that He should suffer. And when they were thus persuaded they went out even into all the world and taught these things.[3] 6. For this reason we also are firm in His faith and discipleship, gaining our persuasion both from the Prophets and from those who throughout the world have been seen to have become worshippers of God in the name of Him who was crucified. Now this is what was said by

[1] Zech. 9. 9.

[2] *the Law which came to you through the Prophets.*—Moses was the great prophet, xcvii. 1.

[3] The clause suggests a knowledge of Mark 16. 20.

Zechariah: *Arise, O sword, upon My shepherd, and upon the man of My people, saith the Lord of hosts. Smite the shepherd, and His sheep shall be scattered.*[1]

LIV

1. Now that which was related by Moses and prophesied by the patriarch Jacob, *He shall wash His robe in wine and His garment in the blood of the grape,*[2] receive remission of sins through Him His robe,[3] in whom signified that He would wash in His blood those who believed Him. For the Holy Spirit has called those who He is ever present in power,[4] and will be visibly present in His second Advent. 2. And when the word speaks of *the blood of the grape,*[5] He signifies by this trope that Christ has blood indeed, yet not from the seed of a man but from the power of God. For just as it was not man

[1] Zech. 13. 7. J. sees the fulfilment of the prophecy in the dispersion of the disciples throughout the world; Mark 14. 27 in their being scattered immediately after Christ was taken prisoner, and so Irenaeus, *Preaching,* lxxvi.

[2] Gen. 49. 11. See also cxx. 3. In I *Apol.* xxxii. 1. J. attributes the words to Moses as does Irenaeus IV. xx. 2 (x. 1), and therefore Dr. Rendel Harris (*Testimonies,* i. p. 14) thinks the quotation was taken from the Testimony Book. But J.'s words in our passage are against this, for he says accurately that they were prophesied by Jacob but narrated by Moses.

[3] *His robe.*—So I *Apol.* xxxii. 8. *'Pallium Christi est Ecclesia, quia Christus Ecclesia quasi pallio amicitur'* (Corn. a Lap.). And so perhaps Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6 on this verse, 'In His own Spirit He says He will deck the body of the Word'. See also Cyprian, *de catholicae ecclesiae unitate* vii.

[4] *in power.*—cxxviii. 1 note.

[5] *the blood of the grape.*—J. explains that as this comes direct from God without the intervention of a man, so did Christ's blood. He believed in the Virgin birth. See also lxiii. 2; lxxvi. 2; *cf.* Bp. Chase, *Belief and Creed,* 1919, p. 204. See also Prof. J. Hugh Michael in *Expositor,* 1918, pp. 308 *sqq.* who suggests that J. had in his mind the doctrine of the Incarnation of Wisdom as given in Wisd. 7. 1-3.

but God that begat the blood of the vine, so also He signified before hand that the blood of Christ would not be of human generation but of God's power. For this prophecy, Gentlemen, which I have adduced, proves that Christ is not mere man of human origin, begotten in the common way of men.

LV

1. Trypho answered: We will remember this interpretation of yours also, if you establish this question by other arguments as well. But at the present moment take up the subject again, and prove to us that the existence of another God[1] besides the Maker of the universe is recognized by the spirit of the prophets, taking care in your argument not to name the sun and the moon,[2] which God is stated in Scripture to have allowed the Gentiles to worship as gods. And the Prophets, misusing, as it were, this passage,[3] often say: *Thy God is God of gods and Lord of lords,* adding repeatedly the epithets, *great and mighty and terrible.*[4] 2. For these words are not used as though they were really gods, but

[1] *another God.*—T. returns to the question he had asked in L. 1.

[2] *the sun and moon.*—So also cxxi. 2. Deut. 4. 19 implies that God permitted Gentiles to worship them; *cf.* 29. 26. But the answer, says T., is given repeatedly by the Prophets, who insist that God is supreme, and even though they may speak of other gods, this refers to those that are only considered gods, as other passages plainly show. The *Mechilta* on Ex. 20. 3 similarly adduces Isa. 37. 19; 46. 7. But Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* vi. 14) says 'And He gave the sun, and the moon, and the stars, for worship, "which things God made for the heathen," says the Law, lest they should become utterly godless, and so utterly perish'.

[3] *misusing, as it were, this passage.*—It is perhaps better to emend the text ὥσπερ χρώμενοι to ὡς παραχρώμενοι, and translate 'making a mistaken use, as it were, of this passage.'

[4] Deut. 10. 17.

the word is teaching us, as it were, that He who is God in reality, who made all things, alone is Lord of those that are considered gods and lords. For that the Holy Spirit might bring this home also, He said by holy David: *The gods of the Gentiles*—though considered gods—*are images of demons,*[1] but are not gods. And He lays a curse[2] on them that make and worship them.

3. I replied: These were not the proofs that I was about to adduce, Trypho, by which I am aware that those who worship these and similar objects are condemned, but rather such as no one will be able to contradict. Yet they will seem to be strange to you, though you read them daily, so that you can understand also from this that God, because of your iniquity, hid from you the ability to perceive the wisdom that there is in His words—with the exception of them to whom, after the grace of His abundant kindness, *He left,* as Isaiah said, *a seed*[3] for salvation, in order that your race should not perish completely, like the men of Sodom and Gomorrah. Pay attention therefore to the words which I am about to call to mind from the holy Scriptures, which do not require to be explained at all, but only to be heard.

[1] *The gods . . . images of demons.*—So also lxxiii. 2. Ps. 96. 5, 'The gods of the gentiles are demons' (and so lxxiii. 3; lxxix. 4; lxxxiii. 4). But the Heb. is *'elilim* ('idols' R. V., 'things of nought' R. V. marg.). The LXX rendering is the more striking if the Hebrew word originally referred to terracotta images of Enlil the god of Nippur. In 1 Chron. 16. 26 we find 'the gods of the gentiles are idols' (εἴδωλα 'images'), and it has been thought that J. combined the two passages. *Didasc, Jac.* § 8 (edit. Bonwetsch), treats of this passage at length. In Nau's edition (§ 9) it is briefly mentioned.

[2] *He lays a curse.*—The LXX of Ps. 115. 8 has 'may they that make them be like unto them.'

[3] *a seed.*—Isa. 1. 9; 10. 22; *cf.* Rom. 9. 27-29.

LVI

1. Moses therefore, God's blessed and faithful attendant,[1] informs us that He was God who appeared to Abraham at the oak of Mamre, together with the two angels sent with Him for the judgment of Sodom, by Another who ever abides in the highest heavens, and hath been seen of none, and hath never conversed personally with any, whom we know as Creator of the universe and Father. 2. For thus Moses says: *Now God appeared to him at the oak of Mamre, while he was sitting at the door of the tent at noon. But he lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold, three men stood over him. And when he saw them he ran fast to meet them from the door of his tent, and he prostrated himself to the ground, and said*[2]—and so on, until,[3] *But Abraham rose up early in the morning (and went) unto the place where he stood before the Lord, and he looked upon the face of Sodom and Gomorrah, and on the face of the land around, and saw, and, behold, flame was going up from the land like smoke of a furnace.*[4] And I ceased quoting more, and enquired of them whether they had understood what I said.

3. They said that they had indeed understood, but that the words quoted contributed nothing to prove that any other God or Lord exists or is spoken of by the Holy Spirit beside the Maker of the universe.

[1] *God's blessed and faithful attendant.*—See xlvi. 3. Moses was therefore acquainted with His will, and the means He used to reveal Himself.

[2] Gen. 18. 1-3.

[3] *and so on, until.*—lix. 2; lx. 1. (*cf.* R. V. of Ezra 4. 10; 7. 12), for in § 18 J. says that all has been already written.

[4] Gen. 19. 27 *sq.*

4. I replied: Seeing then that you have understood[1] these passages of Scripture, I will endeavour to persuade you of what I say, that there both exists and is mentioned in Scripture a God and Lord other than, and less than, the Maker of the universe, who is also called Angel (or Messenger), because He announces[2] to men whatever the Maker of the universe, above Whom there is no other God,[3] desires to announce to them. And then, repeating my previous quotations, I enquired of Trypho: Does it seem to you that God appeared to Abraham under the oak of Mamre, as the word says?

He answered: Most certainly.

5. And He was, I said, one of those three who, the Holy Spirit of the prophets says, were seen of Abraham as men?

He said, No, but God appeared to him before he saw the three. Those three then whom the word terms men were angels, two of them sent for the destruction of Sodom, and one bringing the good news to Sarah that she was to have a child, for which reason he had been sent forth, and, when he had accomplished his task, went his way.[4]

[1] *Seeing that you have understood.*—J. accepts their claim for the moment.

[2] *Angel (or Messenger) . . . announces.*—The Greek words are alike.

[3] *above Whom there is no other God.*—Is J. silently contradicting Marcion?

[4] T. agrees with Josephus. (*Antt.* I. xi. 1. § 198), 'They declared that they were angels of God; and that one of them was sent to give information about the child, and two for the overthrow of Sodom'. *Cf. Bresh. R.* on Gen. 19. 1, 'Michael spake his good news (to Abraham and Sarah) and departed. Gabriel was commissioned to overthrow Sodom, and Raphael to deliver Lot.' Earlier, on Gen. 18. 2, the *Bresh.* R. had distinguished between the Shekinah and the three, saying Abraham 'saw the Shekinah and saw the angels,' and on 18. 22 though 'the men turned from thence', 'the Shekinah was waiting for Abraham'. On 18. 3 it says that Abraham spoke to the chief of the three, who was

6. If so, I said, how was it that the one of the three who had been in the tent, and also said: *In due season I will return unto thee, and Sarah shall have a son,*[1] appears to have come again when Sarah had a son, and the word of the prophets even there indicates Him as being God? But in order that what I say may become clear to you, hear the express sayings of Moses. 7. They are these: *Now when Sarah saw the son of Hagar, the Egyptian handmaid whom Abraham had, sporting with Isaac her son, she said to Abraham: Cast out this handmaid and her son, for the son of this handmaid shall not be heir with my son Isaac. But the saying about his son appeared very harsh in Abraham's sight. But God said to Abraham: Let it not seem harsh in thy sight concerning the land and concerning the handmaid; in all things whatsoever that Sarah says to thee, listen to her voice, because in Isaac shall thy seed be called.*[2] 8. Have you therefore, I enquired, understood that He who then said under the oak that He would return—as He knew beforehand that it was necessary to give Abraham counsel in what Sarah desired of him—came back, as it is written, and is God, as the words indicate as follows: *But God said to Abraham, Let it not seem harsh in thy sight concerning the lad and concerning the handmaid?*

Michael. *Cf. Breshith R. ha Gadol* (Edit. Schechter, col. 266) on Gen. 18. 2, 'who are the three men? Rab said Michael and Gabriel and Raphael; Michael, who came to bring the good news to Sarah; Raphael, who came to heal (*lrapp'oth*) Abraham; Gabriel, who came to overthrow Sodom. But it is written, "And the two angels came to Sodom" (Gen. 19. 1). That is because Michel went away to save Lot.' With regard to the Shekinah mentioned above it is probably best to consider the term as personifying God in His immanence (*cf. J. Abelson The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature,* 1912, pp. 104 *sqq.*)

[1] Gen. 18. 14.

[2] Gen. 21. 9-12.

9. And Trypho said: Most certainly, but with this you have not proved that God is other than He who appeared to Abraham, who appeared also to the other patriarchs and prophets. But you have proved that we were not right in our opinion that the three who were in the tent with Abraham were all angels.[1]

10. Then I in turn: If therefore I could not prove to you from the Scriptures that one of those three is both this God in question,[2] and yet is called an angel, because, as I said already, He announces the messages of God, the Maker of the universe, to whomsoever God desires; and that He who appeared on earth in the form of a man, and appeared to Abraham (as was also the case with the two angels who came with him), was the God who also existed before the making of the world, it were reasonable for you to hold the same opinion as that of all your nation.

Assuredly, he said. For we have held this until now.

11. I replied: I will come back to the Scriptures, and endeavour to persuade you that He who is said to have appeared to Abraham, and Jacob, and Moses, and is written down as God, is other than the God who made all, I mean in number not in mind,[3] for I say that He has never done or said anything else than what He who

[1] T. very strangely accepts J.'s argument that one of the three was not an angel but God, although he does not see that this implies a different Person from the one God. J. will prove this latter point in § 11 onwards.

[2] *the God in question.*—See lviii. 9 note.

[3] *in number not in mind.*—cxxviii. 4; cxxix. 2. J. insists (*a*) that there is no opposition in mind and purpose between the Two; (*b*) but that they are Two. For he is opposed to those (Praxeas and others) who say that the Son is only a temporary manifestation of the Father (cxxviii. 3). J. had not come to see that it is equally necessary to insist on the unity of the 'Persons'.

made the world, above Whom there is no other God, has desired Him to do and say.

12. Then Trypho: Prove therefore now that He is this, that we also may give our assent to it. For we do not suppose you to say that He affirms, or has done, or has spoken, contrary to the mind of the Maker of the universe.

And I said: The Scripture then which I have already quoted will make this plain to you. It is as follows: *The sun went forth over the earth, and Lot entered into Zoar. And the Lord rained upon Sodom brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven, and overthrew these cities and all the country round.*[1]

13. And the fourth[2] of those who had remained with Trypho said: One must say therefore that besides that one of the two angels who went down to Sodom and is called Lord by the word given by Moses, He who appeared to Abraham was God Himself.[3]

14. Not for this reason alone,[4] I said, must we assuredly acknowledge what was the case, that some one else besides Him who is recognized as the Maker of the universe is termed Lord by the Holy Spirit; and that not only by Moses but also by David. For even by the latter He says: *The Lord saith to my Lord: Sit thou on My right hand until I set thine enemies as the footstool of thy feet,*[5] as I have said before.[6] And again in

[1] Gen. 19. 23-25.

[2] *the fourth.*—*cf.* lxxxv. 6.

[3] The argument is that one of the angels who *went to Sodom* is called Lord, and is distinguished from the Lord in heaven, who had appeared to Abraham; *cf.* § 15.

[4] *Not for this reason alone.*—viz. the expression in Gen. 19. 23 *sq.* The doctrine of there being Another than the Creator has been stated clearly in § 4.

[5] Ps. 110. 1. [6] xxxii. 6.

other words: *Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, the sceptre of Thy kingdom is a sceptre of equity. Thou lovedst righteousness and hatest iniquity; therefore God. Thy God, anointed Thee with the oil of gladness more than Thy companions.*[1] 15. Give me an answer therefore whether you say that the Holy Spirit speaks of another as God and as Lord, besides the Father of the universe and His Christ. For I promise to prove to you from the Scriptures themselves that He whom the Scripture called Lord is not one of the two angels that went down to Sodom, but He who was with Him, and is said to have appeared as God to Abraham.

16. Trypho: Continue your proof, for, as you see, the day is advancing, and we are not prepared to give such hazardous answers, for we have never yet heard any one making these enquiries, investigations, or proofs. And we should not bear with your words if you did not refer everything to the Scriptures. For you are anxious to draw your proofs from them, and you declare that there is no God above the Maker of the universe.

17. Then I said: You know therefore that the Scripture says: *And the Lord said unto Abraham: Why is it that Sara laughed saying: Shall I of a truth bear a child? But I have grown old. Is a thing impossible with the Lord? At this time do I return unto thee in due season, and Sara shall have a son.* And a little after: *Now the men rose up from thence and looked towards Sodom and Gomorrah. But Abraham began to go with them, setting them forward on their journey. But the Lord said: I will not hide from Abraham my servant that which I am doing.* 18. And again, a little after, He speaks thus: *The Lord*

[1] Ps. 45. 6 *sq.*

said : The cry of Sodom and Gomorrah has been multiplied, and their sins are exceeding great. I will go down therefore and see whether they reach their completion in accordance with their cry that cometh unto Me, and if otherwise that I may know it. And the men turned away thence and came unto Sodom. But Abraham was standing before the Lord, and Abraham drew near and said : Wilt thou destroy righteous along with ungodly, etc. ?[1] For it does not seem to me necessary to write the same words again, when all of them have been already written,[2] but only those by means of which I made my proof for Trypho and his companions. 19. So I then came to the following verses, in which this is said : *Now the Lord went away, when He ceased speaking to Abraham, and he* (Abraham) *went away unto his place. But the two angels came unto Sodom at evening, and Lot was sitting at the gate of Sodom;* and so too the words that follow, until : *But the men stretched out their hands and pressed Lot unto them into the house, and shut to the door of the house.* And what follows, until : *And the angels took hold of his hand, and the hand of his wife, and the hands of his daughters, the Lord sparing him.* 20. *And it came to pass when they led them outside they said : Save, save thy own life; Look not back, nor stand in any of the district round; save thyself at the mountain, lest perhaps thou be caught together with them. But Lot said unto them : I pray, O Lord, since thy servant has found grace before thee, and Thou hast magnified Thy righteousness, in that which Thou doest unto me that my soul should live—But I cannot escape unto the mountain, lest the evils overtake me and*

[1] Gen. 18. 13 *sq.*, 16 *sq.*, 20-23.

[2] See § 2 note. In this sentence J. is not addressing T., but Marcus Pompeius and other readers.

I die. 21. *Behold this city is near to flee thither, a little one—there shall I be saved—how little it is!—and my soul shall live. And He said to him: Behold I have had respect to thee in this saying also, that I should not overthrow the city about which thou hast spoken. Haste to be saved there. For I shall not be able to accomplish the matter until thou enter there. Therefore did one call the name of the city Zoar. The sun came out over the earth, and Lot came in into Zoar. And the Lord rained into Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven, and He overthrew these cities and all the district round.*[1]

22. And I ceased, and added further; Even now have you not understood, my Friends, that the One of the three, who is also God and Lord, acting as servant to Him who is in heaven, is Lord of the two angels?[2] For when they went forward into Sodom, He was left behind and held with Abraham the conversation recorded by Moses. And when He also had gone away after His conversation, Abraham returned unto his place. 23. When He had come (to Sodom) we have no longer two angels conversing with Lot, but Him Himself, as the word shows us plainly. And He is Lord, receiving from the Lord who is in heaven, namely the Maker of the universe, the duty of bringing those punishments on Sodom and Gomorrah which the word enumerates, saying thus: *The Lord rained on Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven.*[3]

[1] Gen. 18. 33; 19. 1; 10. 16-25.

[2] *Lord of the two angels.*—J. shows that the title 'Lord' does not belong to either of the two angels who went to Sodom (§ 13), but to the angel who remained with Abraham. He afterwards went to Lot, and is called 'the Lord' who received from the Lord in heaven the duty of punishing Sodom.

[3] Gen. 19. 24; see. cxxvii. 5; cxxix. 1.

LVII

1. When I was silent Trypho said: It is plain that Scripture compels us to acknowledge this. But you yourself would acknowledge that the information that He ate what was prepared by Abraham and set before Him rightly causes doubt.

2. I answered:[1] It is written indeed that they ate. But if we heard it said that the Three ate, and not the two only, for in reality they were angels and were fed in heaven, as is clear to us, even though they are not fed with the same kind of food that men use—for of the food of manna with which your fathers were fed in the wilderness, Scripture says thus, that they *ate the food of angels*—I should say that the word which says they ate meant it as we ourselves might say of fire that it devoured everything, and that we ought not at all to understand this to mean that they ate by chewing with teeth and jaws. So that even in this passage we should not be in any doubt, if we have had even a little experience in figures of speech.

3. Then Trypho said: It is possible that the question about the mode of eating may be relieved in this way, when it is written that they consumed and ate the food prepared by Abraham. So, come now, and render us the reason how it is that He who appeared to Abraham

[1] To T.'s objection, How could one of the angels be God, when he ate? J. replies, (*a*) We are not expressly told that all three angels ate; (*b*) If we were, we should say that as in heaven angels eat only manna (Ps. 78. 25 A.V., LXX; Wisd. 16. 20; *cf. infra* cxxxi. 3 note) the eating of the material things which Abraham set before them must be understood metaphorically, as we say that 'fire devours'. In T. B. *Baba Mezia*, 86b it is said that the angels 'appeared as if they ate and drank.' This is further explained as being done for politeness' sake. Josephus, *Antt.* I. xi. 2 § 197 'Now they made a show of eating'. See further Box, *The Testament of Abraham* (1927) iv. p. 7.

as God, and as being the servant of God[1] the Maker of the universe, was born by the Virgin and has become man of like passions with all men, as you said before.

4. Then I said: Allow me first, Trypho, to collect certain other proofs under our present heading,[2] at some length, that you may be persuaded as well as I about this, and afterwards[3] I will render you the statement you require.

He said: Do as you think best. For so you will do what I myself greatly desire.

LVIII

1. And I said: I am about to relate passages of Scripture to you, though I am not anxious to present a merely artistic arrangement of arguments. For I have no ability to do this, but this grace alone was given me of God, that I might understand His Scriptures. And of this grace I pray all of you to become partakers, without payment and without stint, lest otherwise I should be found guilty in the judgment, which God the Maker of the universe will bring about, through Jesus Christ my Lord.

2. Trypho said: This also you do in a manner worthy of true piety. But you seem to me to feign ignorance when you say you possess no skill in the art of discussion.

I answered again: As you think so, so be it; but I feel sure that it is as I said. But now, that I may the better draw out the rest of my proofs, pray give me your attention.

[1] *The servant of God.*—lviii, 3 note.

[2] *under our present heading, i.e.* that Another is called God besides the God who is in heaven.

[3] *and afterwards.—e.g.* lxiii. See Introd., p. xxxvi.

He said: Say on.

3. I said:[1] It is written again, my Brethren, by Moses, that He who appeared to the patriarchs, and is called God, is also called Angel and Lord, in order that by these terms you may recognize Him as serving the Father[2] of the universe, as you have already agreed, and after being assured by more arguments you will remain firm. 4. The word of God[3] therefore, when narrating by means of Moses the history of Jacob, the grandson of Abraham, says thus: *And it came to pass when the flocks conceived and were with young, that I saw them with mine eyes in my sleep. And, behold, the he-goats and the rams which were leaping on the sheep and the she-goats, were piebald and variegated and speckled with dun-coloured spots. And the angel of God said to me in sleep, Jacob, Jacob. 5. But I said: What is it, Lord? And He said, Look up with thine eyes and see the he-goats and the rams which are leaping upon the sheep and the she-goats, piebald and variegated and speckled with dun-coloured spots. For I have seen all that Laban doeth to thee. I am the God that appeared to thee in the Place of God, where thou didst anoint Me a pillar and didst vow a vow. Now therefore arise and go forth from this land,*

[1] *And I said.*—J. here passes from the consideration of the three men who appeared to Abraham, to the Angel who appeared to other patriarchs.

[2] *as serving the Father.*—ὑπηρετοῦντα. In lvii. 3 ὑπηρέτης. J.'s words suggest that such a servant had a position under the Father superior to that of all others. But we should have expected him to use παῖς, for there seems to be no such use of ὑπηρέτης. ὑπηρετεῖν in the Greek Bible, or in early Christian writers, to denote the office of the Messiah. Philo however applies πηρέτης to the Logos, saying that God uses him as a servant to distribute His gifts. (*Quod deus*, xii. § 57.)

[3] *The word of God.*—xv. 7 note.

and go away unto the land of thy birth, and I will be with thee.[1]

6. And speaking again in other words about him, even Jacob. He says thus : *But he rose up that night and took his two wives and his two handmaids and his eleven children, and crossed the ford of the Jabbok, and he took them and crossed the ravine, and sent all that he had across. And Jacob was left alone; and a Man was wrestling with him until early morn. But He saw that He had no power against him, and touched the broad part of his thigh, and the broad part of Jacob's thigh was numbed in his wrestling with Him. And He said to him : Send me away, for the dawn has risen. 7. But he said : I will not send Thee away, unless Thou bless me. And He said to him : What is thy name ? And he said : Jacob. And He said to him : Thy name shall not be called Jacob, but Israel shall thy name be. Because thou hast prevailed with God, thou shalt be powerful also with men. But Jacob asked and said : Tell me Thy name. And He said : Why dost thou ask this, even My name ? And He blessed him there. And Jacob called the name of that place The Vision of God. For I saw God face to face, and my soul rejoiced.*[2] 8. And again when he is narrating about the same Jacob elsewhere he says this : *Now Jacob came unto Luz, which is in the land of Canaan, which is Bethel, he and all the people who were with him. And he built there an altar, and called the name of that place Bethel; for there God appeared to him when he fled from the face of his brother Esau. But Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, died, and was buried below Bethel under the oak, and Jacob called its name the Oak of Mourning. Now God appeared to Jacob yet again in*

[1] Gen. 31. 10-13.

[2] Gen. 32. 22-30.

Luz, when he came there out of Mesopotamia of Syria, and He blessed him. And God said to him : Thy name shall no longer be called Jacob, but Israel shall thy name be.[1]

9. God is He called, and God[2] He is and shall be.

10. And when all nodded their heads in assent I said : I also consider it necessary to tell you those words which report how this Angel and God and Lord was seen of him when he was fleeing from his brother Esau, who also appeared in the form of a man to Abraham, and in human form wrestled with Jacob himself.[3] 11. Now they are these : *And Jacob went forth from the Well of the Oath and journeyed unto Haran. And he happened on a place and slept there, for the sun was set. And he took of the stones of the place, and set them at his head, and he slept in that place, and dreamed. And behold a ladder set up in the earth, whose head was reaching unto the heaven, and the angels of God were going up and were going down upon it, but the Lord was stationed over it.* 12. *And He said : I am the Lord, the God of Abraham thy father, and of Isaac; fear not. The land, on which thou sleepest—to thee will I give it and to thy seed. And thy seed shall be as the sand of the earth, and shall spread abroad unto sea and south and north and east. And all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed in thee and in thy seed. And behold I am with thee, preserving thee in every way thou journeyest, and I will bring thee back into this land, because I will not forsake thee until I have done all things whatsoever I have spoken*

[1] cxxv. 3.

[2] *God . . . God.* In each case θεός not ὁ θεός. J. reserves the latter for the supreme God, except in lvi. 10, where the article marks the God of which the narrative is speaking, and so in lx. 3.

[3] cxxv. 3.

unto thee. 13. *And Jacob was aroused from his sleep, and said: The Lord is in this place, and I knew not! And he was afraid, and said, How awful is this place. This is no other than the House of God, and this the Gate of Heaven. And Jacob rose up in the early morning, and took the stone which he placed there under his head, and set it as a pillar, and poured the oil over the top of it. And Jacob called the name of the place God's House; and the name of the city was Ulammaus formerly.*[1]

LIX

1. After I had said this I added: Bear with me while I prove to you also from the Book of Exodus, how this same Person, Angel and God and Lord and Man and Human Being, having appeared to Abraham and Jacob,[2] appeared in a flame of fire out of a bush, and conversed with Moses. And when they said that they would hear gladly, and without fatigue and eagerly, I added: 2. This is in the Book which is entitled Exodus: *Now after those many days the king of Egypt died, and the children of Israel groaned because of their labours,* and so on, until:[3] *Go and gather together the elders of Israel, and thou shalt say unto them: The Lord, the God of your fathers, was seen of me, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, saying: I do surely take cognizance of you and of what-*

[1] Gen. 28. 10-19.

[2] *Jacob.*—The MSS. read *Isaac,* which is doubtless a mistake of the copyist. It is Jacob whom J. has had in mind lvi. 11; lviii. 11, and will mention again, lx. 2. In lx. 3 however J. speaks of Him who appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, where Otte suggests that 'Isaac' is a gloss.

[3] *and so on, until.*—lvi. 2 note.

soever has happened to you in Egypt.[1] 3. To this I added: Sirs, have you understood that He of whom Moses says an Angel had spoken to him in a flame of fire, He Himself, being God, signifies to Moses that He is the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob?

LX

1. Trypho said: We do not understand this from the words that have been brought before us, but that He who was seen in a flame of fire was an Angel, and He who conversed with Moses was God, so that both an Angel and God, two together, were in that vision.[2]

2. I answered again: Even though this took place then, my Friends, that both an Angel and God were present together in the vision offered to Moses, as has already been proved to you by the words already written down,[3] the Maker of the universe will not be the God who said to Moses that He was the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, but He who was proved to you to have been seen of Abraham and Jacob, ministering to the will of the Maker of the universe, and having likewise ministered to His

[1] Ex. 2. 23—3. 16. Observe that throughout this chapter J. is insisting, (*a*) that the Angel is not the Supreme God, (*b*) and yet is called God. Even the subordination of this second God does not make J.'s reference to him as God acceptable to T. In I *Apol.* lxiii. J. is more explicit on the subject than here.

[2] *both an Angel and God, two together, were in that vision.*—So *Shmoth R.* on Ex. 23. 20 (Par. 32 end) 'Wherever the angel appears the Shekinah appears also, for it is said, "And the angel of the LORD appeared unto him in a flame of fire", and immediately after, "And the LORD called unto him".' Compare *Bresh. R.* on Gen. 48. 16, quoting Josh. 5. 14, 'The captain of the host of the Lord', 'I am the captain of the host above, and wherever I appear, the Holy One, blessed be He, appears.' *Cf.* lxxxvi. 2; cxxviii. 2. On the use of 'Angel' as applied to Christ 'up to the Nicean controversy' see Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma* i. 185.

[3] *the words already written down.*—lvi. 2 note.

purpose in the judgment of Sodom. So that, even if there were two, as you say is the fact, both an Angel and God, no person whatever, even though he be of slight intelligence, will dare to say that the Maker and Father of the universe left all that is above heaven, and appeared on a little section of earth.

3. Trypho :[1] It has already been proved that He who was seen of Abraham, and was named God and Lord by the Lord who is in the heavens, received and inflicted the punishment that fell on the land of Sodom. So now, even if an Angel were present with the God who appeared to Moses, we shall not understand the God who conversed with Moses from the bush to have been the Maker of the universe, but Him who was proved to have appeared to Abraham [and Isaac][2] and Jacob, who also is called an Angel of the God who was the Maker of the universe, and is understood to be so from His announcing to men the commands received from the Father and Maker of all things.

4. Then I again : Now in truth, Trypho, will I prove that at the vision to Moses He Himself alone who was called an Angel and yet all the time was God, was seen of Moses and conversed with him. For thus said the word : *Now an Angel of the Lord was seen of him in a flame of fire from a bush. And he sees that the bush burns with fire, but the bush was not consumed. And Moses said : I will go by and see this great sight, that the bush is not consumed. But when the Lord saw that he drew nigh to see, the Lord called him out of the*

[1] *Trypho.*—He agrees so strangely with all that J. has just said in § 2 that we must either translate 'O Trypho' (*cf.* C. 'Now again' in § 4 instead of 'Then I again'), or suppose that § 3 is another, and clearer, redaction of § 2, intended to take its place. See Introd., p. xix.

[2] *and Isaac.*—lix, 1 note.

bush.[1] 5. In the same way therefore that the word speaks of Him who was seen of Jacob in sleep as an Angel, and then says that the Angel Himself who was seen in sleep said to him : *I am the God who appeared to thee when thou wast fleeing from the face of Esau thy brother,*[2] and that in the time of Abraham in the judgment of Sodom the Lord inflicted the judgment from the Lord who was in the heavens, so here also the word, saying that an Angel of the Lord was seen of Moses, and afterwards indicating Him as being Lord and God, says that He is the same person as He whom it indicates, by the many statements already quoted, as ministering to God who is above the world, above Whom there is no other.

LXI

1. Yet another testimony from the Scriptures will I give you, my Friends, I said, namely that God has begotten as a Beginning[3] before all His creatures a kind of Reasonable Power from Himself, which is also called by the Holy Spirit the Glory of the Lord,[4] and sometimes Son,[5] and sometimes Wisdom,[6] and sometimes Angel, and sometimes God, and sometimes Lord and Word.[7] Sometimes also He speaks of Himself as Chief Com-

[1] Ex. 3. 2-4.

[2] Gen. 31. 13; 35. 1, 7.

[3] *as a Beginning.*—Prov. 8. 22 R.V. marg. Jerome writes (*Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.* Vallarsi. iii. c. 305) on Gen. 1. 1 that very many thought that instead of *In the beginning* the Hebrew had *In the Son.* This was doubtless due to the same Midrashic method of expounding *in the beginning* as the Jews used when expounding it of the Law. See lxv. 5 note. See further, Harnack, *Altercatio Simonis,* etc. pp. 130-134.

[4] *Cf.* Ex. 16. 7. For some of these titles see xxxiv. 2; c. 4; cxxviii. 2.

[5] Ps. 2. 7; lxxxviii. 8; ciii. 6; cxxii. 6.

[6] Prov. 8. 12; *cf.* lxii. 4; c. 4; cxxvi. 1.

[7] See lvi-lx.

mander, when He appeared in the form of a man to Joshua the son of Nun.[1] For He can have all these names, from the fact that He ministers to the Father's purpose; and has been born of the Father of His own will. 2. But do we not see that this is much the same as takes place within ourselves?[2] For when we put forth any word, we beget a word, not putting it forth by scission, as though the word within us was diminished. And as we see in the case of fire another fire comes into being, without that one from which the kindling was made being diminished, but remaining the same, while that which is kindled from it appears as itself existing, without diminishing that from which it was kindled. 3. But the Word of wisdom will act as witness for me, being Himself this God begotten of the Father of the universe, and being all the time the Word and Wisdom and Power and Glory of Him who begat and spake as follows by Solomon: *If I declare to you the things that happen every day, I will remember to recount them that are from eternity. The Lord created*[3] *me as the beginning of His ways for His works. Before eternity He founded me, 'in the beginning', before He made the earth and before He made the depths, before the fountains of the waters came forth, before the mountains were settled; and before all the hills He begetteth me.* 4. *God made cultivated and desert land and the inhabited heights under heaven. When He*

[1] Josh. 5. 13-15. *cf.* lxii. 5.

[2] *as with ourselves.*—The two illustrations of our words and of fire are used by Tatian, J.'s disciple, in his *Address to the Greeks* V; *cf. infra* cxxviii. 4.

[3] *created.*—Philo's translation of Prov. 8. 22 is better, 'Wisdom is introduced by one of the members of the divine choir as speaking of herself in this fashion, "God acquired me as first of His works, and before the present age. He established me" ' (*De Ebriet.* § 31).

prepared the heaven I was along with Him; and when He marked out His throne on the winds; when He made the upper clouds strong and made the fountains of the deep sure; when He made the foundations of the earth strong; I was at His side arranging. It was I in whom He was delighting; yea, daily did I rejoice in His presence at all times; because He rejoiced when He completed the world, and He rejoiced in the sons of men. 5. *Now, therefore, my son, hear me. Blessed is the man who shall listen to me, and the human being who shall keep my ways, watching at my doors daily, observing the posts of my entries. For my exits are exits of life, and good pleasure has been prepared (him) of the Lord. But they who sin against me act impiously against their own souls, and they that hate me love death.*[1]

LXII

1. This very thing,[2] my Friends, did the word of God say also by Moses, indicating to us that of Him whom he (Moses) made known[3] God spoke in that same sense at the creation of man, saying: *Let us make man after our image and after (our) likeness; and let them rule over the fishes of the sea, and the birds of the heaven, and the cattle, and all the earth, and all the crawling things that crawl on the earth. And God made man, after the image of God made He him; male and female*

[1] Prov. 8. 22-36. The first sentence, quoted from the LXX, is not in the Hebrew. Its teaching is applied also in lxii. 4.

[2] *And this very thing.—viz.* that there is another God.

[3] *whom he (Moses) made known.*—referring to the general revelation of God (not the Word) given in the Pentateuch. The subject of the verb however is uncertain; some understand Solomon or the word of God by Solomon, referring to the preceding chapter.

made He them. And God blessed them, saying : Increase, and multiply, and fill the earth and have lordship over it.[1]

2. Now that you may not, by changing the words already quoted, say what your teachers say,[2] either that God said to Himself, *Let us make,* as we also, when we are about to make anything, often say 'Let us make' to ourselves; or that God said, *Let us make* to the elements, namely the earth and such like, out of which we understand man has come into being; I will again relate words spoken by Moses, from which we can recognize without any question that He conversed with one different in number from Himself and possessed of reason. 3. Now these are the words: *And God said : Behold, Adam has become as one of Us, to know good and evil.*[3] Therefore by saying *as one of Us* He has indicated also number in those that were present together, two at least. For I cannot consider that assertion true which is affirmed by what you call an heretical party among you, and cannot be proved by the teachers of that heresy,[4] that He was speaking to

[1] Gen. 1. 26-28; *cf. Barn.* v. 5.

[2] *that you may not say . . . what your teachers say.*—J. mentions three Jewish interpretations of the passage, all of which are to be found in *Breshith R. in loco* (Par. 8), 'With whom took He counsel? with His works of the preceding days . . . with Himself . . . with the Angels.' The last is very common, even though, according to some, the angels adduced arguments against the creation of man, *Bresh. R.*, Par. 8, and especially T.B. *Sanh.* 38b. But probably most Jews to-day would accept the interpretation that 'The Torah was speaking in everyday language' (*Midr. ha Gâdôl ibid.*), and did not intend the plural to have any special force. J. meets all such objections by Gen. 3. 22 in his next section.

[3] Gen. 3. 22.

[4] *heresy.*—The Jews can never have considered it heretical to say that God in Gen. 1. 26 was speaking to the angels (*vide supra*), so that the reference is doubtless to the opinion that the human body was their work, which borders on Manicheeism. The only Jewish writer who refers to such a belief seems to be Philo, who, after speaking of the angel of Gen. 48. 16, says Moses

angels, or that the human body was the work of angels. 4. But this Offspring, which in reality was put forth from the Father before all His works, was with the Father, and with Him the Father conversed,[1] as the word showed us plainly by means of Solomon, that this Itself which is called Wisdom by Solomon was begotten by God both as (the) Beginning before all the works, and as (His) Offspring. God says the same by the revelation that was given to Joshua the son of Nun. But in order that what I say may thus become clear to you, hear also the following words from the Book of Joshua : 5. *And it came to pass when Joshua was at Jericho, that he looked up with his eyes and saw a man standing in front of him. And Joshua drew near and said to him : Art thou ours or one of our adversaries ? And He said to him : As chief commander of the host of the Lord, have I now come. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and said to Him : Sir, what charge givest Thou to Thy servant ? And the chief commander of the Lord saith unto Joshua : Loose the sandals of thy feet; for the place on which thou standest is holy ground. And Jericho was shut up and fortified, and none went forth out of it. And the Lord said unto Joshua : Behold I deliver to thee Jericho to be under thy hand, and its king who is in it, though they are mighty men in strength.*[2]

[1] mentions man alone as having been made by God in conjunction with other assistance (Gen. 1, 26, indicating a plurality of makers). Here, therefore, the Father is conversing with His own powers, to whom He has assigned the task of making the mortal part of our soul. . . . He thought it necessary to assign the origin of evil to other workmen than Himself' (*De Fuga*, xiii §§ 68-70). See also *De Opif. Mundi*. xxiv.

[1] *and with him the Father conversed.*—J. interprets Gen. 1. 26 as addressed to the Son. So also *Barn.* v. 5; Irenaeus, *Preaching* 55.

[2] *Josh.* 5. 13—6. 2.

LXIII

1. Trypho said:[1] You have shown this, my Friend, with much force and at some length. Lastly then prove also that He submitted to be born man by the Virgin according to the purpose of His Father, and to be crucified and to die. But also show that He afterwards rose and ascended into heaven.

2. I answered: This also has been already proved[2] by me, Gentlemen, in the words of the prophecies already related, which for your sakes I will again recall to memory and explain, and so endeavour to lead you to agree with me about it. That word therefore which Isaiah said: *Who shall declare His generation? Because His life is taken from the earth*[3]—does it not seem to you that He who is said by God to have been delivered unto death because of the iniquities of the people did not have His origin from men? About whose blood Moses also, as I said before,[4] speaking in a parable, said, He *washed His robe in the blood of the grape*,[5] as though He had come into existence not of human seed but of the will of God.[6] 3. And David's words: *In the brightness of Thy saints, from the womb before the morning star did I beget Thee. The Lord sware and will not repent: Thou art priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek*,[7]

[1] *Trypho said.*—T. brings J. back to the subject of the Incarnation, (with its attendant death, resurrection and ascension) begun in xliii but interrupted by T. himself in xlv. Box (*Virgin Birth*, pp. 218-220) has some interesting remarks on this chapter.

[2] *already been proved.*—xliii. 3 *sqq.*

[3] Isa. 53. 8.

[4] liv.

[5] Gen. 49. 11 quoted at length in lii. 2.

[6] *but of the will of God.*—J. refers Jno. 1. 13 to Christ. See liv. 2 note.

[7] Ps. 110. 3 *sq.*

do they not signify to you that from of old[1] the God and Father of the universe was about to beget Him, and this by means of a human womb? 4. And elsewhere He says, in the same words already adduced,[2] *Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; the sceptre of Thy kingdom is a sceptre of equity. Thou lovedst righteousness and hatedst iniquity; therefore God, Thy God, anointed Thee with oil of gladness more than Thy companions, (with) myrrh and liquid myrrh and cassia from Thy garments, from ivory palaces, out of which they made Thee glad. Kings' daughters were in Thine honour; the Queen stood by on Thy right hand, clothed in vesture shot with gold, (and) of many colours. Hear, O daughter, and see, and incline thine ear, and forget thy people and the house of thy father; and the King shall desire thy beauty; for He is thy Lord and thou shalt worship Him.*[3] 5. That then testimony has been borne to Him by Him who made all this,[4] *viz* : that He is both to be worshipped, and is God and Christ, these words clearly signify. And they likewise proclaim that them that believe on Him, as men of one soul and one synagogue and one church,[5] the word of God[6] addressed as *Daughter*, namely the Church

[1] *from of old.*—The fact of the Incarnation was purposed from olden time (the time of David). The adverb is used in the same sense in xxiv. 2, referring to the time of Moses. The reference to the future prevents our interpreting it of the generation of the Son before eternity. Possibly we should translate 'from above,' as in lxiv. 7.

[2] *already adduced.*—xxxviii. 4; lvi. 14.

[3] Ps. 45. 6-11.

[4] *who made all this.*—Not Him who inspired these Scriptures (Otto), but the Maker of the world, lxviii. 3.

[5] *of one soul and one synagogue and one church.*—Observe J.'s doctrine of the unity of believers, as individuals, or as members of the Jewish race (in pre-Christian or Christian times), or as members of the Christian Church. Observe that J. goes on to repeat *vv.* 10 *sq.*, laying stress on worshipping Christ (*cf.* lxxvi. 7).

[6] *the word of God.*—xv. 7 note.

which came into being from His name and shares His name, for we are all called Christians. And they teach us to forget even the old customs of our fathers, saying thus: *Hear, O daughter, and see, and incline thine ear, and forget thy people and the house of thy father; and the King shall desire thy beauty, because He is thy Lord, and thou shalt worship Him.*

LXIV

1. Trypho said:[1] Let Him be recognized of you who are of the Gentiles, as Lord and Christ and God, as the Scriptures signify, seeing also that you all have acquired the name of Christians from Him. But as for us, who are worshippers of God who made even Him—we do not need to confess Him or worship Him.

2. To this I said: Trypho, if I were fond of strife and superficial like you, I should not continue to join in this discussion with you, when you do not prepare yourselves to understand my words, but only try and make yourselves sharp enough to say something.[2] But now, since I fear the judgment of God, I am in no hurry to express my opinion about any one of your race, whether he is not of those who can be saved in accordance with the grace of the Lord of Sabaoth. Therefore even though you act maliciously I will continue answering whatever argument you put forward and use in objection. And so will I do with, in fact, all of every race of men, who desire to make enquiries, or to ask questions of one about these matters.

[1] Like many modern Jews, T. willingly lets Gentiles acknowledge Jesus as the Christ, but he cannot accept the statement that members of the synagogue need to confess him.

[2] *sharp enough to say something.*—The cause for J.'s irritation with T. seems to lie in the implication that Gentiles may well find help in Christ, for they need it badly.

3. That therefore they from your race[1] who are saved are saved by this Man, and are in His Portion, you would, if you had paid attention to the passages from the Scriptures which I have cited, have already understood, and you certainly would not have asked me any question about this. But I will again state what I have already cited from David,[2] and I shall be glad if you will follow my meaning, and not merely stir yourselves up to malicious opposition.

4. These therefore are the words which David says: *The Lord became king, let the peoples be angry; He who sitteth upon the cherubim—let the earth be shaken. The Lord is great in Zion, and high over all the peoples. Let them pay acknowledgment to Thy great name, because it is awful and holy, and the King's honour loveth judgment. Thou didst prepare equity; judgment and righteousness didst Thou do in Jacob. Exalt the Lord our God and worship His footstool, because He is holy. Moses and Aaron are among His priests, and Samuel among them that call upon His name; they called upon the Lord, and He Himself heard them. In a pillar of cloud was He speaking with them, because they kept His testimonies, and the ordinances which He gave them.*[3]

5. And in other words which have also been already recounted,[4] and were spoken by David, which you foolishly affirm to have been said of Solomon, inasmuch as the title runs so—from these it is demonstrated both that they are not said of Solomon, and also that this Man was even before the sun, and that they who are

[1] *they from your race.*—J. argues that there is no salvation even for Jews apart from the work of Christ.
[2] *what I have already cited from David,* in xxxvii. 3 *sq.*
[3] Ps. 99. 1-7.
[4] See xxxiv. 3-6.

saved from among your people shall be saved by Him. 6. Now these are the words: *O God, give thy judgment to the king, and Thy righteousness to the King's son. He shall judge Thy people in righteousness and Thy poor with justice. Let the mountains take up peace for the people, and the hills righteousness. He shall judge the poor of the people, and shall save the sons of the needy, and shall humble the informer. And He shall continue along with the sun, and before the moon, for generations of generations.* And so on, until,[1] *Before the sun shall His name continue. And all the tribes of the earth shall bless themselves in Him; all the nations shall call Him happy. Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel, who alone doeth wonderful things, and blessed be the name of His glory for ever and ever. And the whole earth shall be filled with His glory. Amen, Amen.*[2] 7. And call to mind, from the other words which, as I said before,[3] were likewise spoken by David, that He was to come from the ends of the heavens, and was foretold as again to ascend thither, in order that ye may know that He came forth as God from above, and became man among men, and will come here again, when they who pierced Him will see Him and lament.[4] 8. Now these are the words: *The heavens declare God's glory, and the firmament announces the work of His hands. Day utters word to day, and night announces knowledge to night. There are no tongues nor words, whose voices are not heard.*

[1] *And so on, until.*—lvi. 2 note.

[2] Ps. 72. 1-19.

[3] *the other words which, as I said before.*—Of the passage quoted (Ps. 19. 1-6) one verse (*v.* 4) has been cited in xlii. 1 with reference to the Apostles, and one (*v.* 7) in xxxiv. 1 with reference to the Law. J. seems to have quoted the passage in xxx. 2 (see note there), but it has been omitted by copyists.

[4] Zech. 12. 10.

Into all the earth went forth their note, and their sayings unto the bounds of the world. In the sun set He His tabernacle, and He Himself, as a bridegroom going forth from His chamber, will rejoice as a giant to run His course. From the end of heaven is His going forth, and His goal is as far as the end of heaven, and there is none who shall be hidden from the heat.[1]

LXV

1. And Trypho said: I am troubled by so many passages of Scripture, and know not what to say about the passage which Isaiah said, according to which God states that He gives His glory to none other, saying as follows: *I am the Lord God; this is My name; My glory will I not give to another, nor My powers.*[2]

2. If in all sincerity,[3] said I, and not with ill intent, you say these passages, and then keep silence, Trypho, without either prefixing those that precede them, or connecting those that follow, I can excuse you. But if you do so because you suppose that you can stalemate our argument by making me say that some passages of Scripture contradict others, you are in error. For I shall never dare either to imagine or to say this, but if a passage which seems to be such is adduced, and has the

[1] Ps. 19. 1-6. On *a giant* (*v.* 5) see lxix. 3 note; lxxv. 3.

[2] Isa. 42. 8. J.'s answer in §§ 3-7 shows that T. disregards the context, according to which the glory is not reserved by God for Himself, but is given to Him who is set for a light of the Gentiles. T. apparently agrees to this.

[3] J. first expresses his fear that T. is not sincere in his objection, but only wishes to get J. to say that one passage of Scripture contradicts another, thus driving him into a position which would close the whole discussion. For both T. and J. believed that there could not be any real contradiction between two passages of Scripture. Archambault gives many patristic references for the same belief.

appearance of contradicting another, I am so fully persuaded that no passage really does this that I would rather acknowledge that I do not understand what is said, and shall rather do my best to persuade those who suppose that the passages are contradictory to think the same as I.

3. Now the intention with which you have proposed this difficulty, God knoweth. But I would remind you of the exact wording of the sentence, that you may recognize even from it that God gives the glory to His Christ alone. Now I will repeat a few sentences, Gentlemen, which occur in the context of the words mentioned by Trypho, and also those that immediately follow them. For I will not say them out of another chapter, but strictly in their connexion. Pray then give me your attention. 4. Now they are these: *Thus saith the Lord God, who made the heaven and fixed it firm, who founded the earth and the things therein, and giveth breath to the people that is on it, and spirit to them that tread it. I the Lord God called thee in righteousness, and will take hold of thy hand and will strengthen thee. And I gave thee for a covenant of the race, for a light of Gentiles, to open the eyes of the blind, to lead the chained out of their bonds, and them that sit in darkness out of their prison-house. 5. I am the Lord God, this is my name. My glory will I not give to another, nor my powers to the graven images. Lo, the things from the beginning have come, new things which I announce, and before any announceth them were they made known to you. Sing ye to God a new song, His Beginning*[1] *is from the end of the earth, ye who go down to the*

[1] *His Beginning.*—The reference is probably to Christ, lxi. 1 note. The LXX read 'His praise', *v.* 8 (*tehillāthô*) as 'His beginning' (*techillāthô*).

sea and sail on it, ye isles, and they that inhabit them. 6. Rejoice, O desert, and their villages and folds, and they that inhabit Kedar shall rejoice, and they that inhabit the Rock[1] *shall shout from the top of the mountains; they shall give glory to God; His powers shall they announce among the islands. The Lord, the God of Hosts, shall go forth; He shall crush (all) war; He shall stir up jealousy, and shall shout aloud against His foes.*[2]

7. After saying this I added: Have you understood, my friends, that God says He will give glory to Him whom he set for *a light of Gentiles,* and not to any other,[3] and that it does not mean, as Trypho said, that God holds back the glory for Himself?

Trypho answered: Yes, we have understood this also. Finish then the rest of the argument.

LXVI

1. So I again took up my argument where I left off at first[4] as I was showing that He was born of a virgin, and that it had been prophesied by means of Isaiah that He should be born of a virgin, and I again stated the prophecy. 2. Now it is this: *And the Lord spake again to Ahaz, saying: Ask for thyself a sign from the Lord thy God in depth or in height. And Ahaz said: I*

[1] *the Rock.*—Perhaps J. is thinking of Christ, see cxiii. 6; cxiv. 4.

[2] Isa. 42. 5-13.

[3] *and not to any other.*—Commentators have been surprised that J. does not mention the Holy Spirit. But he is not writing a treatise on systematic dogma, but considering, for the moment, only the relation of Christ to God. *cf.* John 17. 3. See also the quotation from his *Acts* (Introd., p. xi).

[4] *where I left off at first.*—J. returns to his proof of the doctrine of the Incarnation begun in xliii. 3-7.

will not ask nor will I try the Lord. And Isaiah said : Hear ye then, O House of David. Is it a slight thing with you to begin strife with men ? And how do ye begin strife with the Lord ? Therefore shall the Lord Himself give you a sign. Beheld, the virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel. Butter and honey shall He eat. 3. Before He either knows or can select evil shall He choose the good. Because, before the child knows either ill or good, He refuses evil to choose the good. Because, before the child knows how to call father or mother, He shall take the power of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria in the presence of the king of Assyria. And the land shall be captured which thou shalt bear with difficulty because of the two kings. But the Lord shall bring upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days which have never yet been, from the day that Ephraim took the king of Assyria away from Judah.[1] And I added : Now it is plain to all that in the race of Abraham according to the flesh no one has ever been born from a virgin, nor has been said to be so born, save this our Christ.

LXVII

1. Trypho[2] answered : The passage is not, *Behold the Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son,* but : 'Behold the young woman shall conceive and bear a son,' and so on,

[1] Isa. 7. 10-16.

[2] T. adduces three arguments against the doctrine of the Virgin birth. (1) For 'Virgin' in Isa. 7. 14 we should read 'the young woman', see lxxxiv. 1-4, notes. (2) The prophecy refers to Hezekiah, see lxxxiii. 1 note. (3) There is nothing new in such a tale. Compare that of the birth of Perseus, which Christians ought to be ashamed of adducing. He adds, (4) Christians ought to believe that Jesus was man of human origin, and if He was the Christ became so because of His perfect life under the Law. J. deals with this last argument first, §§ 4-11.

as you said. Further, the whole prophecy stands spoken of Hezekiah, with respect to whom events are proved to have taken place in accordance with this prophecy. 2. Further, among the tales of those whom we call Greeks it is said that Perseus[1] has been born of Danae, still a virgin, by him that they entitle Zeus flowing down upon her in the form of gold. And in fact you (Christians) ought to be ashamed of saying the same sort of things as they, and should rather say that this Jesus was man of human origin, and, if you prove from the Scriptures that He is the Christ, that because of His perfect life under the Law He was deemed worthy to be chosen to be Christ. And do not dare to assert marvels, that you be not convicted of talking folly like the Greeks.

3. To this I said: I would that you and in fact all men were persuaded of this, that, even though, as you jeer and jest, you make still worse remarks, you will not move me from my intention, but I shall continue to use the very words or deeds with which you used to reproach me as the source of the proofs of what I say, together with the testimony of the Scriptures. 4. Yet you act neither uprightly nor as a lover of the truth, when you endeavour to destroy even the points about which we have already agreed, that some of the commandments have been laid down by Moses because of the hardness of the heart of your people. For you have just said that it was because He lived under the Law that He was chosen to be Christ

[1] *Perseus.*—J. himself in I *Apol.* xxi. 2; xxii. 5 appeals to the Emperor to accept the doctrine of the Virgin Birth of Jesus because he has accepted the tale of the birth of Perseus from the virgin Danae. He is rightly rebuked by T. But in I *Apol.* liv. 8 J. argues that that tale was in reality devised by the wicked demons as a counterblast to Isa. 7. 14, and this is the line that he takes generally in our lxix. 1-3, (though the case of Perseus is not mentioned), and expressly in lxx. 5.

and became Christ, if indeed He had been proved to be Christ.

5. Trypho said: Yet you acknowledged[1] to us that He was both circumcised and kept the other precepts of the Law which were appointed by Moses.

6. I answered: I did acknowledge it and do so now. But I did not acknowledge that He endured all this as being made righteous by it,[2] but that He was perfecting the Dispensation[3] which was desired by Him who is His Father, and the Creator of the universe and Lord and God. For I acknowledge too that He was crucified and died, and that He endured becoming man, and suffered whatever the men of your race inflicted on Him.

7. Again,[4] since, Trypho, you do not assent to the points to which you assented before, pray answer me this question: Are those just men and patriarchs who were before the time of Moses, but observed none of those things which the word proves to have been first ordained by Moses, saved among the inheritance of the blessed, or not?

8. Trypho said: The Scriptures compel me to acknowledge that they are.

In the same way I will put another question to you, I said. Did God charge your fathers to offer offerings and

[1] *you acknowledged.*—Nothing has been said thus far about the circumcision of Jesus, nor of His keeping the Law. Yet J. agrees that he had acknowledged these facts (§ 6). Either there is a lacuna, as in lxxiv. 3, or the *Dialogue* was never finally revised. See. Introd., p. xviii.

[2] *as being made righteous by it.*—Although Jesus kept the Law He did not increase His righteousness by doing so. He was only carrying out His Father's plan.

[3] *the Dispensation.*—xxx. 3 note.

[4] *Again.*—Unless §§ 7-11 are misplaced J. seems to argue that whether or no Christ kept the Law it had not the value attributed to it by T.

sacrifices because He needed them, or because of the hardness of their hearts, and their inclinations to idolatry?

The latter, he said, is likewise what the Scriptures compel us to acknowledge.[1]

9. And have the Scriptures likewise foretold that God has promised that a new Covenant will be appointed, besides that which was given at Mt. Horeb?

He replied that this also had been foretold.

Then said I again: But was the old Covenant appointed to your fathers with fear and trembling, so that they were not even able to listen to God?

He acknowledged it to be so.

10. What follows? I said. God promised that there should be another Covenant, not as that first one was appointed, and said that it would be appointed them without fear and trembling and lightning-flashes, and one that shows what command and work God knows to be everlasting and in harmony with every race, and what He ordered only in harmony with the hardness of your people's heart, as also He cries aloud by the prophets.

11. To this too must complete assent be given, he said, by those who love the truth, and love not contention.

Then said I: I know not how you can speak of any as lovers of contention, when you yourself often seem in fact to be so, for you contradict so often that to which you assented.

LXVIII

1. Trypho said:[2] Because you are endeavouring to prove an incredible and almost impossible thing, that God endured to be born and to become man.

[1] See xix. 2 note.

[2] T. refers to the Incarnation (lxvii. 6), not to the Law.

If, said I, I undertook to prove this by themes and arguments derived from men, it would not be fitting that you should bear with me. But if I adduce Scriptures spoken for this very object, both many in number and repeated often, and I ask you to recognize them—you show yourselves hard of heart in knowing the mind and will of God. And if you deem it well so always to remain, I myself shall feel no injury, but still retaining what I held before I met with you, will bid you now farewell.

2. Trypho said: Consider, dear Sir, that you have been able to acquire this with much trouble and toil. So we too must test and try all that meets us, and thus assent to what the Scriptures compel us.

To this I replied: I do not ask you to refrain from examining with all your power the subjects of our discussion, but not to contradict again—when you have nothing to say—those points to whch you have already assented.

3. Trypho said: This will we endeavour to do.

Again I said: In addition to the questions that have just been put by me I desire to put another question to you, for by means of these questions I am doing my utmost to bring the discussion to a speedy close.

Trypho said: Put the question.

I said, Do you think that any one else is spoken of in the Scriptures as one to be worshipped and as Lord and God,[1] save He who made this universe, and save Christ, who was proved by so many Scriptures to have become man?

4. Trypho. How can we admit that this is so, when we have held so long a discussion whether there is even any other save the Father alone?

[1] *cf.* lxiii. 5.

I said again. I am obliged to make even these enquiries of you, that I may know whether you think otherwise than you have already admitted.

He said: No, Sir.

I said again. When therefore you in truth assent to this, and the word says: *His generation who shall declare,*[2] ought you not also to think at once that He is not the seed of human parentage?

5. Trypho. How then does the word say to David[3] that of his loins God will take to Himself a son, and will establish the kingdom for him, and will set him on the throne of his glory?[4]

6. I replied: If, Trypho, Isaiah does not speak his prophecy with reference to the house of David: *Behold, the virgin shall conceive,*[5] but with reference to another house of the twelve tribes, perhaps there would be some difficulty in the matter. But since this prophecy refers to the house of David, that which was said of David by God in a mystery was explained by Isaiah as it was to come to pass. Unless perchance you are not aware of this, my friends, that many sayings which were spoken in a covert way and in parables, or in mysteries, or in symbolic actions, the prophets that came after those speakers explained.

7. Assuredly, said Trypho.

If therefore I prove that this prophecy of Isaiah is spoken of this our Christ, and not of Hezekiah, as you say, shall I not importune you not to believe your

[1] *you have already admitted.*—viz. that Scripture contemplates the worship of no other than of God the Father, and of Christ.

[2] Isa. 53. 8; *cf.* lxiii. 2.

[3] 2 Sam. 7. 12-16; *cf.* cxviii. 2.

[4] *his glory.*—T. asserts that Scripture regards the Messiah as only a human being.

[5] Isa. 7. 14.

teachers, who dare to say that the interpretation made by your Seventy elders,[1] when at the court of Ptolemy king of Egypt, is in some points untrue? 8. For whatever in Scripture appears expressly to convict their foolish and selfish opinion, this they dare to say is not so written (in the original). But whatever (they think) they can drag into supposed agreement with human actions, this they say was not spoken of our Jesus Christ, but of him of whom they endeavour to explain it. Thus this passage also, which we are now discussing, they have taught you is spoken of Hezekiah, an assertion which, as I promised,[2] I will prove to you is false. 9. Now[3] the Scriptures which we bring before them, expressly proving that Christ both suffers and is worshipped and is God, which I also have already related to you, they are indeed compelled to agree are spoken of Christ. But they dare to say that He (whom we worship) is not the Christ, who they confess will come, and suffer, and reign, and be worshipped as God. This I will likewise prove to you is absurd and foolish. But since I am pressed to reply first to what you have said in this absurd way, I will make my reply to this, and afterwards state the proofs of the other subjects.

[1] *your Seventy elders.*—J. says that the Jews impugned the trustworthiness of the Septuagint, when its evidence told against them. *cf.* xliii. 8; lxxi. 1; lxxxiv. 3; cxxiii. 6 note. Neither J. nor T. knew Hebrew.

[2] *as I promised.*—xliii. 8.

[3] Here the Jews, according to J., acknowledge that the true Christ is to suffer and reign and be worshipped as God, but deny that Jesus is He. In lxxxix. 1 *sq.* T. accepts the statement that the Christ is to suffer, but hardly by death on the cross, which implies that He is cursed. So also in xc. 1. The earliest purely Jewish evidence for the belief that Messiah suffers, outside the Old Testament itself, appears to be the *Pesiqta Rabbathi* on Zech. ix. 9, perhaps of the ninth century A.D., as it stands. See *Christian Evidences, etc.* §§ 215-217. J.'s statement that he has already brought forward appropriate Scriptures seems to refer to lii *sq.*; and to xlviii; liv-lxii; lxiv *sq.*

LXIX

1. Be well assured therefore, Trypho,[1] I proceeded to say, that the very things which the Devil, rightly so called, corrupted, and then made into current tales among the Greeks (even as he wrought both by the magicians in Egypt and by the false prophets in the time of Elijah) have confirmed my knowledge of the Scriptures and my faith. 2. For when they say that Dionysius was born son of Zeus by his intercourse with Semele, and relate that he was the discoverer of the vine, and, after being torn in pieces and having died, rose again, and has ascended into heaven; and when they bring forward an ass[2] in his mysteries; must I not think that he has imitated the prophecy of the patriarch Jacob which has been already cited,[3] and was recorded by Moses?

3. And when they say that Hercules[4] was strong and travelled round the whole earth, and that he was born to Zeus of Alcmena, and died, and has ascended into heaven, must I not think that the passage spoken about Christ, *strong as a giant to run his course,*[5] has likewise been imitated? And when he brings forward Æsculapius as raising the dead, and healing all other diseases, must I

[1] J. now considers T.'s objection (lxvii. 2 drawn from the Greek myths, and says that the devil produced them by corrupting Scripture.

[2] *when they bring forward an ass,*—as thou imitating the 'ass's colt' of Jacob's prophecy in Gen. 49. 11; as J. argues at greater length in I *Apol.* liv. 5-7. Both here and there the MSS. read οἶνον ('wine'), but Otto rightly accepts the emendation ὄνον.

[3] lii. 2.

[4] *Hercules.*—In I *Apol.* liv. 8 J. refers directly to the myth of Perseus which T. had adduced. In our book the direct answer is postponed to lxx. 5.

[5] Ps. 19. 5. *Strong,* so lxiv. 8, and I *Apol. liv.* 9, but absent in the LXX and I *Apol.* xl. 4. It is useful for J.'s argument. *Cf.* lxxvi. 7.

not say that he has likewise imitated the prophecies about Christ in this respect also? 4. But since I have not related to you any such passage as signifies that Christ would do these things, I will of necessity remind you of one, from which you may understand how even to those who are destitute of the knowledge of God—I mean the heathen, who, though having eyes saw not, and having hearts understood not, but worship mere material images—the word foretold that they should deny them and set their hope on this our Christ. 5. Now the saying is as follows: *Rejoice O desert that thirsteth! Let the desert be glad, and blossom as the lily. And the desert places of Jordan shall blossom and be glad, and the glory of Lebanon is given it, and the honour of Carmel. And my people shall see the exaltation of the Lord, and the glory of God. Be strong, ye slack hands, and ye palsied knees. Take courage, ye fainthearted, be strong, fear not. Behold, our God renders judgment, and will render it. He Himself will come and save us. Then shall blind men's eyes be opened, and deaf men's ears shall hear. Then shall the lame leap as a hart, and the tongue of stammerers be clear. For water is cloven forth in the wilderness, and a torrent in the thirsty land, and the waterless shall be marsh-meadows, and for the thirsty land shall there be a fountain of water.*[1] 6. As a fountain[2] of living water from God, in the land destitute of the knowledge of God, the land of the Gentiles, has this our Christ gushed forth, who has appeared in your race, and them who from their birth and after the flesh were maimed, and deaf, and lame, He healed, making by His word this man to leap, and that man to hear, and yet another to see.

[1] Isa. 35. 1-7.
[2] *As a fountain.*—*Cf. Odes of Solomon* vi. 7-12, of the Gospel.

And He raised dead men also and made them live, and by His works He importuned the men of that day to recognize Him. 7. Yet when they saw these things come to pass they said it was a display of magic art, for they even dared to say that He was a magician[1] and a deceiver of the people.[2] But He did all this to persuade them that would believe in Him, that if one whose body were mutilated should prove to be guardian of the doctrines delivered by Him, He would raise him up whole at His second coming, besides making him immortal, and free from all corruption and from all sorrow.[3]

LXX

1. Now when they who teach the mysteries of Mithra[4] say that he was born from a rock, and call the place where they teach the initiation of them that obey him a

[1] *He was a magician.*—There seems to be no direct evidence in Jewish writings of the belief that Jesus wrought His miracles by magic until the Babylonian Talmud (*c.* A.D. 450). In Christian circles this passage in the *Dialogue* is the earliest witness. *cf.* I *Apol.* xxx. Celsus (*c.* A.D. 177) is quoted by Origen (*c.* A.D. 230) as saying, on the strength of Jewish teaching, that Jesus performed His miracles by magic learned in Egypt (*c. Celis.* i. 28; ii. 48) *cf.* also *Clem. Recogn.* I. lviii. Lactantius, V. iii. See further *The Hebrew Christian Messiah, pp.* 102 *sqq.; Strack, Jesus, die Häretiker und die Christen,* 1910, pp. 8 *sqq.*

[2] *a deceiver of the people.*—Properly 'one who leads the (LORD's) people astray'; see Deut. 13. 5. *cf. Matt.* 27. 63; Jno. 7. 12; *cf.* cviii. 2. 'One Jesus of Galilee a deceiver.' See T. B. *Sanh.* 43a 'On the eve of Passover they hanged Jesus, and a herald went out before him for forty days, (crying) Let him be stoned, for he has committed sorcery, and has deceived Israel, and led it astray.'

[3] The argument that our Lord's restoration of sight to the blind, etc., when He was on earth, shows His intention to raise believers whole is maintained also in the fragmentary treatise *On the Resurrection* (iv), attributed to Justin, and dated by Harnack *c.* A.D. 150-180. Jews of perhaps the third century A.D. thought the lame, etc., would first be raised in a similar state, for the purpose of identification, and restored whole afterwards. (Gen. R. on Gen. 46. 28, *Par.* 95; *cf.* T. B. *Sanh.* 91b.)

[4] Mithra was originally a god known to the religion of the Vedas and the early religious poetry of Persia, and in early Zoroastrianism

cave, do I not know that they have imitated the saying of Daniel: *a stone was cut without hands out of a great mountain?* And similarly with the words of Isaiah, all of whose sayings they have tried to imitate? For they have so devised that words urging acts of righteousness are even spoken among them. 2. Now I must perforce relate to you the words that Isaiah has said, that you may know that this is so. They are as follows: *Hear, ye that are far off, what things I have done. They who draw near shall know my strength. The lawless in Sion have departed; trembling shall seize the ungodly. Who will announce to you the everlasting place? One that walks in righteousness, speaking straight, hating iniquity and injustice, with his hands kept pure from gifts, closing his ears from hearing unjust judgment of death, shutting his eyes from seeing injustice—he shall dwell in the high cave of a strong rock.* 3. *Bread shall be given him, and his water is sure. Ye shall see the King with glory, and your eyes shall see afar. Your soul shall meditate on the fear of the Lord. Where is the writer? Where are the councillors? Where is he that numbereth them that are to be fed, be the people great or small? For with Him they took not counsel, nor knew the depth of (His) speeches, so that they did not hear: a worthless people,*

was regarded as the god of battles. But the Mithraism of J.'s time included elements derived from the Babylonian religion and the beliefs of Asia Minor, and was essentially sun-worship. It was brought to Rome by Cilician pirates captured in 67 B.C., and was, in the second century A.D., the most popular and widespread of all the rivals of Christianity (For a full account see *E.R.E.* s.v.). J. here says that the *rock* (from which Mithra was born) was imitated from Dan. 2. 45 (the Stone cut from the rock), and the cave (lxxviii. 5. *al.*) from Isa. 33. 13-19, and that from this text the bread and the cup of water (I *Apol.* lxvi. 4) were also derived. He also implies that the glory of the King (Isa. 33. 17 *Septuag.*) had suggested the rays that crown Mithra's head. J. refers in lxxviii. 6 to his statement here.

and he that heareth understandeth not.[1] 4. It is plain therefore that in this prophecy he speaks of the bread which our Christ taught us to *do in remembrance* of His incarnation for those that believe on Him, for whom He became even liable to suffering;[2] and also of the cup which He taught us as we give thanks to *do in remembrance* of His blood. And this prophecy declares that we shall see this very King (surrounded) with glory. 5. And these texts of prophecy cry aloud that a people which was foreknown as about to believe on Him, was foreknown as about to meditate on the fear of the Lord. And that they who think they know the very letters of the Scriptures,[3] and hear the prophecies, have no understanding, these Scriptures have likewise proclaimed. But Trypho, I said, when I hear that Perseus[4] has been born of a virgin, I understand that the deceitful serpent has done this also by way of imitation.

LXXI

1. Further,[5] I do not believe your teachers when they do not agree with the interpretations by the Seventy

[1] Isa. 33. 13-19.

[2] *liable to suffering.*—The Bread of the Eucharist reminds us of this. See also xli. 1.

[3] *the very letters of the Scriptures.*—Aqiba and his followers (*e.g.* Aquila) had recently insisted on the importance of these, with greater stress than had ever been laid before.

[4] *Perseus.*—lxvii. 2 note.

[5] *Further.*—On Eusebius' reference to this and the next chapter see Introd., p. xiv. J. now returns to the Septuagint, and after saying that he does not agree with the Jewish opinion that it has misinterpreted the Hebrew (*cf.* lxviii. 7), he mentions, by the way, that the Jews have purposely deleted many passages from it. He does not actually say that they were deleted also from the Hebrew, for he seems to have been unable to read Hebrew, but he implies this, and T. seems to understand him so. At T.'s special request he names the passages. Archambault refers to the same statement in other Fathers. Rendel Harris says that all J.'s passages 'deleted' refer to the Cross and Passion (*Test.* i. p. 12).

elders at the court of Ptolemy King of Egypt, but endeavour to give interpretations themselves. 2. And I would have you know that they have completely removed from the interpretations which were made by the elders at the court of Ptolemy many passages by which this very One who was crucified is plainly proved to have been proclaimed as God, and man, and crucified, and dying. But these passages, since I am aware that all who are of your nation deny them, I do not adduce in such enquiries as we are now making, but I come to discuss those which are still acknowledged among you. 3. For you recognize all those that I have brought forward to you, save that you made a contradiction about the text: *Behold, the virgin shall be with child,* saying that it runs: 'Behold, the young woman shall be with child.' And I promised that I would prove that it was spoken not of Hezekiah, as you were taught, but of this my Christ.[1] So now I come to the proof.

4. Trypho said: We ask that you would first tell us some of the passages which you say have been completely left out.

LXXII

1. I said: I will do as you please. From the interpretations then which Esdras interpreted of the Law about the passover, they have removed this: 'And Esdras said to the people:[2] This passover is our Saviour and our refuge. And if ye understand, and it come up into

[1] See lxxxiv. 1 note.

[2] *And Esdras said to the people.*—The same passage, but in Latin, is attributed to Esdras in Lactantius, iv. 18. Rendel Harris (*Test.* i. 80 *sq.*) thinks it was in his hypothetical *Book of Testimonies,* and only omitted from it by Cyprian because it was not in the accepted Books of Esdras. It seems to be entirely Christian in origin. For its subject, compare cxi. 3.

your heart, that we are about to humble Him on a cross,[1] and afterwards put our hope in Him, (then) this place will never be laid desolate, saith the Lord of hosts. But if ye do not believe Him, nor listen to His proclamation, ye shall be a laughing stock to the Gentiles'.

2. And from the words spoken by Jeremiah they have cut away this: *'I am as an innocent lamb, carried out to be sacrificed. Against me did they think their thoughts, saying: Come, let us cast wood into his bread, and destroy him out of the land of the living, and his name shall be no more remembered'.*[2]

3. And since this chapter, which is from the words of Jeremiah, is still written in some copies of those that are in the synagogues of the Jews[3] (for they cut these things out only a short while ago)—since it is demonstrated also from these words that the Jews took counsel about Christ Himself, taking counsel to crucify and slay Him, He Himself is also shown (as was prophesied too by Isaiah) as led like a lamb to slaughter, and in

[1] *on a cross.*—lit. 'on a sign'; see xciv. 1, 2.

[2] Jer. 11. 19. It is curious that J. says that this passage had been deleted, for it is found in all the MSS., as it seems, both Greek and Hebrew. He says indeed in the next sentence that the words are still in some copies (*i.e.* of the LXX), as the excision had been made only recently. It seems to have been used in the *Books of Testimonies*, for both Lactantius (iv. 18) and Cyprian (*Test.* ii. 20 and 15) have it. Gregory of Nyssa (*Test. adv. jud.* vi) and Dionysius Bar Salibi (iv. 19; vi. 8) have it also. Lactantius explains that the 'wood' signifies the cross, and the 'bread' Christ's body.

[3] *of those that are in the synagogues of the Jews.*—J. implies that the LXX was read in the synagogue service, and this is confirmed from Jewish sources. Tosephta, *Meg.* ii. 5, says that in Asia Minor R. Meir (*c.* A.D. 130-160) was unable to find a Megillah (*i.e., The Book of Esther*) written in Hebrew; and in iv. 13 says, 'In the synagogue of those of foreign speech they begin and close with Hebrew if there is any one who can read it, otherwise only one reads,' namely in some other tongue. This applies to synagogues in Palestine as well as elsewhere. See Ludwig Blau in *Jew. Qu. Rev.*, 1897, ix., pp. 729 *sqq.*

accordance with this passage He is marked as 'an innocent lamb'. But they are at a loss through such words, and proceed to blasphemy.

4. And from the words of the same Jeremiah[1] have they likewise excised the following: 'Now the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel,[2] remembered His dead, those that have fallen asleep in the earth of the tomb, and He went down unto them to preach to them the good news of His salvation.'

LXXIII

1. Again, from the ninety-fifth Psalm of the words spoken by David they have removed this short saying: *from the tree.* For although the word was: *Tell it among the Gentiles; the Lord reigned from the tree,* they left only: *Tell it among the Gentiles the Lord reigned.*[3]

[1] *the same Jeremiah.*—The following passage is plainly Christian, and is not found in the book of Jeremiah. Irenaeus quotes it (always in the Latin portions of his work) as from Isaiah (*Adv. Haer.* III. xxii. (xx. 4), Jeremiah IV. xxxvi. 1 (xxii. 1), and anonymously IV. l. (xxxiii. 1) and lv. 2 (xxxiii. 12), and also (V. xxxi. 1). He also quotes it as by Jeremiah in the *Preaching,* § 78, extant only in Armenian. There seems to be a reminiscence of the same passage in St. Silvester's *Acts,* 'And that He shall be buried also. Jeremiah saith: By (in) his burying the dead shall be made alive.' See M.R. James, *The Lost Apocrypha of the O.T.,* 1920, p. 63 *sq.*) *Cf.* 2 Esdras 2. 31. This seems to be the only place where J. mentions the descent into Hades. See Archambault's note on this doctrine in the early church. Add *Testamentum Domini,* i. 28.

[2] *the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel.*—The MS. has ἀπὸ ἰσραήλ but Otto emends to ἅγιος ἰσραήλ on the basis of the passages in Irenaeus, including the *Preaching.*

[3] Ps. 96. 10. The words 'from the tree' are quoted also in I *Apol.* xli. 4; Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iii. 19; *Adv. Jud.* 10 and 13; and in other Latin Fathers. The hymn *Vexilla Regis,* attributed to Fortunatus (died *c.* A.D. 600), has '*Impleta sunt quae concinit. . . . Regnavit a ligno Deus*'. *Barn.* viii. 5 may allude to it. The words are not in the LXX, save in one Greek MS. (156, an uncial) which reads ἀπὸ τῶ ξύλῳ (*sic*) in the Sahidic version, and in the Latin (only) of the bilingual MS. *Veronensis* (R), and some other old

2. But of no one of your nation was it ever said that he reigned among the nations, as though he were God and Lord, save of Him alone who was crucified, who also, as the Holy Ghost says in the same Psalm, rose again and has been saved, indicating that He is not like the gods of the Gentiles. For they are images of demons.[1] 3. But, that you may understand what is said, I will report the whole Psalm to you. It is as follows: *Sing ye to the Lord a new song; sing ye to the Lord, thou whole earth. Sing ye to the Lord, and bless His name; tell ye the good news of His salvation day after day. Announce among the nations His glory, among all the peoples His wondrous acts. For great is the Lord and to be praised exceedingly; He is terrible above all the gods. For all the gods of the nations are demons, but the Lord made the heavens. Praise and beauty are before Him, holiness and magnificence are in His sanctuary. Bring ye to the Lord, ye kindreds of the nations,*[2] *bring ye to the Lord glory and honour, bring ye to the Lord glory in His name. 4. Take sacrifices and enter into His courts; worship the Lord in His holy court. Let all the earth be moved at His presence. Tell ye among the nations, The Lord hath reigned from the tree.*[3]

Latin texts (Swete, *Introd. to* LXX, 1900 and 1914, p. 424). There is nothing equivalent in the Hebrew. The phrase is doubtless a Christian interpolation. The discussion of the Ps. is renewed in lxxiv. 1-3 but is broken off by the great lacuna. See also lxxxvi. 1, 'the tree of life'. On types of the cross in the O. T. see Pearson on *the Creed*, p. 199 *sq.*

[1] *images of demons.*—So in lv. 2, where see note.

[2] *Bring ye to the Lord, ye kindreds of the nations.*—This is probably an alteration by the copyist (see § 1), for lxxiv. 3 implies that J. had the same reading here as in I *Apol.* xli. 2, 'Give to the Lord, the Father of all'. J. regards the Psalm as addressed to the Father in praise for His gift of the Son.

[3] *from the tree.*—Not in the MS., which, as often in long quotations, follows the accepted text of the Septuagint, but rightly added by Otto, as necessary for J.'s argument. See Introd., p. xxxiv.

For He hath also set the world fast, which shall not be moved; He shall judge peoples in uprightness. Let the heavens rejoice, and the earth be glad; the sea shall be moved and the fulness thereof. The plains shall rejoice and all that are in them; all the trees of the forest shall be glad at the presence of the Lord, for He cometh, for He cometh, to judge the earth. He shall judge the world in righteousness, and peoples in His truth.

5. Trypho said: God alone knows whether, as you say, the rulers of the people deleted anything from the Scriptures. But such a thing seems incredible.[1]

6. Yes, said I, it seems incredible. For it is more awful than the making of the golden calf,[2] which they made in the wilderness when they were satiated with manna, and than sacrificing their children to demons, or than slaying the prophets themselves. But in truth, I said, you seem to me not even to have heard of the Scriptures which I said they had mutilated. For these many passages already stated are more than sufficient to prove the subjects of our enquiry, together with those statements which are yet to be cited, and are preserved among you.

LXXIV

1. Trypho said: We are well aware that it was at our request you cited them. But about this Psalm which you stated last from the words of David. It does not

[1] *But such a thing seems incredible.*—And is, in spite of the fact that the text of the O.T. was not fixed much before the time of Christ. All the examples of excision which J. gives above are Christian in origin.

[2] *than the making of the golden calf.*—It is perhaps not accidental that also some Rabbis (perhaps of the second century A.D.) said that 'the day on which the Law was translated into Greek was as unfortunate for Israel as that on which the Golden Calf was made'. [Mishna, *Sopherim* i. 7 (8)] J. may mean covertly that mutilation is worse than translation.

seem to me to have been spoken of any other than the Father, who made both the heavens and the earth. But you affirm that it is spoken of Him who suffered, who you are anxious to prove is even Christ.

2. I answered: Consider, I pray you, as I keep to the very language which the Holy Spirit uttered in this Psalm, and you will find that I speak not ill, and that we have not in truth been wheedled. For thus also will you be able to understand many other things that have been spoken by the Holy Spirit, when you are by yourselves. *Sing ye to the Lord a new song, sing ye to the Lord, thou whole earth. Sing ye to the Lord, and bless His name; tell the good news of His salvation day after day, among all the peoples His wondrous acts.*[1] 3. He bids them who from all the earth have known this mystery of salvation, namely the suffering of Christ, by which He saved them, continue singing and giving praise as to the God and Father of the universe,[2] for they know that He who wrought this salvation for the human race is both worthy of praise, and is terrible, and is the maker both of heaven and of earth, even Him who died after He was crucified, and was deemed worthy by Him (God the Father) to reign over all the earth, as also by . . .[3] 4. . . . *of the land into which it* (the people) *is entering, and they will forsake me, and will dissipate my covenant which I appointed them in that day. And I will leave*

[1] Ps. 96. 1-3.

[2] *the God and Father of the universe.*—See lxxiii. 3 note.

[3] *as also by . . .*—We suggest supplying 'by all creation' *i.e.*, not only the Father but also creation deems Christ worthy to rule, the next words 'of the land' being wholly unconnected. The Benedictine edition suggests 'As [is clearly seen] also by [the land into which He said He would bring your fathers. Now He said as follows: 'This people go a whoring after strange gods] of the land, etc. But the connexion of sense is still weak. Probably the lacuna was of some length. See Introd., pp. xvii-xix.

them, and will turn my face away from them. And they shall be devoured, and many evils and tribulations shall find them. And it will say in that day : Because the Lord my God is not among us, did all these evils find me. But I will surely turn my face away from them on that day, because of all the ills that they did, because they turned unto foreign gods.[1]

LXXV

1. Now it was likewise declared by Moses in a mystery in the Book of Exodus, and we ourselves have understood, that the name of God Himself, which He says was not made known to Abraham or to Jacob,[2] was also Jesus.[3] Now it is said as follows : *And the Lord said to Moses, say to this people, Behold, I send my messenger*

[1] Deut. 31. 16-18. We may assume that our partial record of the second day begins with this quotation. lxxv. shows that J. has been now speaking of the use of *Angel* and *Messenger*, which gives occasion for saying that the name Joshua (Jesus) was given to the leader into Palestine as a revelation of the name of the Saviour.

[2] *which He says was not made known to Abraham or to Jacob.*—The reference is doubtless to Ex. 6. 3, J. omitting the word κύριος (JEHOVAH, A.V. and R.V.) with a very few authorities. Irenaeus (*Preaching*, 27) comes very near J.'s statement : 'At that time God revealed to him the Name which alone is able to save them that believe thereon ; and Moses changed the name of Oshea the son of Nun, one of them that were sent (*i.e.* as spies), and named him Jesus'.

[3] *the name of God Himself . . . was also Jesus.*—The names Joshua, Jeshua, Jesus are all one. When therefore God says that His messenger will lead the Israelites into the land, and adds, 'for My name is in him', and He also changes the name Oshea into Joshua (Jesus), it is plain that Joshua is God's 'name'. See also *Barn.* xii. 8, *sq.* ; Tert. (*Adv. Marc.* iv. 7) 'God's name of Jesus was in the son of Nun.' This Haggadic play on words and letters appeals to many Jews, however trivial it may seem to us. The residuum of truth in J.'s argument appears to be that by the change from Oshea to Joshua God intended to signify His close and intimate relationship with Him who should bring His people into their rest. For other remarks about Joshua (Jesus) see xlix. 6 ; xc. 4 *sq.* ; cxiii. 1 *sq.* ; cxv. 4 ; cxxxi. 4 *sq.* T.B. *Sotah* 34b explains the alteration as meaning 'Jah shall save thee from the counsel of the spies.'

before thy face, to guard thee in the way, that he may lead thee into the land which I have prepared for thee. Take heed to him, and listen to him. Disobey him not. For he will not give way to thee. For My name is on him.[1] 2. Who then was it that led your fathers into the land? Consider now at least that it was he who was designated by this name Joshua (= Jesus), though formerly called Oshea. For if you will consider this you will also recognize that the name of Him who said to Moses *For My name is on him* was Jesus. For he was also called Israel,[2] and Jacob He has likewise surnamed by this name. 3. Now that the prophets who are sent to proclaim His messages are called both *angels* and *apostles* of God, is made known in Isaiah. For Isaiah says there, *Send me.* And that he who was named by the name of Jesus became a prophet *mighty and great,*[3] is manifest to all. 4. If then we know that that God[4] has been made manifest to Abraham, and to Jacob, and to Moses, in so many forms, how can we be at a loss, and not believe that according to the will of the Father of the universe He can also have been born man by a virgin—when we have, besides, so many passages of Scripture from which we may clearly understand that even this has taken place in accordance with the Father's will?

LXXVI

1. For when Daniel says that He who receiveth the everlasting kingdom is *as a son of man,*[5] does he not hint at this very thing? For saying *as a son of man* means

[1] Ex. 23. 20 *sq.*

[2] *Israel.*—c. 1 note.

[3] *mighty and great.*—The former word is expressly used by J. of Christ in his quotation from Ps. 19. 5 in lxix. 3 (where see note).

[4] *that God.*—Read ἐκεῖνον instead of ἐκείνῳ.

[5] Dan. 7. 13 *sq.*

one that has become man and appears as such. But it does not represent him as one who is of human seed.[1] And his saying *a stone cut without hands*[2] proclaims the same thing in a mystery. For saying that it has been cut out without hands means that it is not a human work, but of the will of God, the Father of the universe, who brought it forward. 2. And Isaiah's statement—*who shall declare his generation ?*[3]—represented him as being of origin that cannot be declared. For no one who is mere man of men is of such an origin. And is not Moses' saying, that he *washes his robe in the blood of the grape,*[4] what I have already often said unto you He has prophesied by figure, namely that he foretold He had blood, but not from men, even as it was not man that engendered the blood of the grape, but God? 3. And did not Isaiah, in saying that He is *the Angel of great counsel,*[5] proclaim beforehand that He has been made the teacher of these things which He taught after He had come? For the great counsels that the Father took for all men that were and shall be well-pleasing to Him,

[1] So of the blood of the grape in liv. 2. *cf.* the next §.

[2] Dan. 2. 34, 45. The Stone is mentioned also in xxxiv. 2; c. 4; cxiii. 6; cxiv. 4; cxxvi. 1. J., as often, reads definitely Christian teaching into the passage, though Daniel can hardly have intended more than the sovereignty of the Messiah working by God's power alone, without human assistance. In *Tanchuma* (Buber, *Beresh.* p. 140) this is one of the passages cited to illustrate the explanation given to Zech. 4. 7 that the great mountain is King Messiah. The stone of Jacob receives the same explanation there. See below, lxxxvi. 2. *Bemidbar R.* on Num. 7. 13 (Par. 13) quotes it to show the supremacy of King Messiah over the whole earth. In both *Tanchuma* and *Bemidbar R.* Dan. 2. 34 is quoted after Dan. 7. 13 *sq.*, as here. On *Stone* in the supposed *Book of Testimonies* see Rendel Harris, *Test.* i. 19; ii. 96, and the note by Harris and Mingana on *Odes of Solomon* xix. 9, 3rd edition, vol. ii, p. 308.

[3] Isa. 53. 8.

[4] Gen. 49. 11. See liv. 1 *sq.*; lxiii. 2.

[5] Isa. 9. 6.

and also equally for those men and angels that depart from His will, He alone taught without concealment, saying: 4. *They shall come from the east and west, and shall recline* (at table) *with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven; but the sons of the kingdom shall be cast out into the outer darkness.*[1] 5. And: *Many shall say to me in that day: Lord, Lord, did we not in Thy name eat and drink and prophesy and cast out demons? And I shall say to them: Depart from me.*[2] And in other words, with which He is about to condemn them that are unworthy to be saved, He says He will speak: *Depart into the outer darkness, which the Father prepared for Satan and his angels.*[3] 6. And again He says in different words: *I give you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions and centipedes, and on every form of the enemy's power.*[4] So now we who believe on Jesus our Lord who was crucified under Pontius Pilate[5] exorcise all the demons and evil spirits, and thus hold them subject to us.[6] For if Christ was covertly preached by the prophets as about to be liable to suffering, and afterwards to be lord of all, yet He could not be so understood by any, until He Himself persuaded the Apostles that these things were plainly proclaimed in the Scriptures.[7] 7. For He cried before He was crucified:

[1] Matt. 8. 11 *sq.*

[2] This Logion is a mixture of Matt. 7. 22 *sq.* and Luke 13. 26.

[3] Matt. 25. 41, but inexactly. J.'s form is almost the same as that in the Clementine Homilies, xix. 2.

[4] Luke 10. 19. The addition *and centipedes* seems to be peculiar to J.

[5] *under Pontius Pilate.*—See xxx. 3 with notes; lxxxv. 2. Observe that the exorcism of demons is connected with the crucifixion in those chapters also.

[6] On the subjection of demons see xxx. 3 note.

[7] Observe this appeal to the claim made by Christ Himself that He fulfilled the prophecies of the O.T., even such as were preached 'covertly'.

The Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the Scribes and Pharisees, and be crucified and rise the third day.[1] And David proclaimed that He would be *born of the womb*[2] before *sun and moon*[3] according to the will of the Father, and declared that He, being Christ, was the Mighty[4] God, and was to be worshipped.[5]

LXXVII

1. Trypho said:[6] I grant you that the proofs are of such a kind and such a number as to be sufficient to impress me, but I desire that you should know that I ask you to prove the passage of Scripture which you have often promised. Pray therefore bring it for us to a close, that we may see also how you prove that that passage has been spoken of this Christ of yours. For we say that it was prophesied of Hezekiah.[7]

2. I replied: As you desire, I will do so. But first do you prove to me that the following words were spoken of Hezekiah, namely, that before he knew how to call father or mother, he took the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria in the presence of the king of Assyria. For we canont grant you, as you desire to expound it, that Hezekiah made war on the men in Damascus, or in Samaria, in the presence of the king of

[1] Mark 8. 31 but inexact, and so also in c. 3.
[2] Ps. 110. 3. See lxiii. 3; lxxxiii. 4.
[3] Ps. 89. 36 *sq.*; *cf.* 72. 5, 17. As the text stands, the reference must be to the Eternal Generation of the Son, but perhaps 'and moon' is an interpolation by a copyist, for J.'s words are more consonant with the Virgin Birth. This was thought to have occurred in the night, before daybreak. So Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* V. ix.
[4] *Mighty.*—See lxix. 3 note.
[5] *was to be worshipped.*—Ps. 45. 11. See lxiii. 5.
[6] T. once more asks J. to finish his discussion of Isa. 7. 14. This therefore was not included in the lacuna of lxxiv.
[7] *Hezekiah.*—lxxxiii. 1 note.

Assyria. *For,* said the word of the prophet, *before the child knows how to call father or mother, he shall take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria in the presence of the king of Assyria.*[1] 3. For if the word of the prophet had not said this by way of addition, namely, *Before the child knows how to call father or mother he shall take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria,* but had said only: *And she shall bring forth a son and he shall take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria,* you could say: Because God foreknew that he would take them, He said so beforehand. But now the prophecy speaks with this addition: *Before the child knows how to call father or mother he shall take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria.* And you cannot prove that this has ever happened to anyone among the Jews, but we can prove that it took place in the case of our Christ. 4. For at the very time that He was born wise men came from Arabia[2] and worshipped Him, after they had first been to Herod who was king at that time in your land, whom the Word calls the king of Assyria[3] because of his godless and wicked mind. For you are aware that the Holy Spirit often speaks things

[1] Isa. 8. 4. Observe that this verse is not part of the prophecy about the Child of the Virgin in 7. 14. Arch. argues that the fact that T. raised no objection shows the fictitious character of part of the discussion. The same argument as J.'s is drawn out in Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iii. 13; *Adv. Jud.* 9.

[2] *wise men came from Arabia.*—lxxviii. 1 *sq.*, 5, 7, 9; lxxxviii. 1; cii. 2. This interpretation of 'from the East' (Matt. 2. 1) was perhaps based on Ps. 72. 10, 15; Isa. 60. 6. So in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Ber.* ii, 4. p. 5a) an *Arab* tells a Jew that Messiah is born. In lxxviii. 9 *sq.* J. says that the Magi came from Damascus, which, he says, properly belongs to Arabia. See also Tert. *Adv. Jud.* 9 and *Adv. Marc.* iii. 12 *sq.*

[3] *Herod . . . king of Assyria.*—ciii. 4 note. Tert. (as in the preceding note) identifies the king of Assyria with the devil. This identification may be due to Hos. 10. 6 quoted in ciii. 4; *cf.* Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iv. 42.

of this kind in parables and similitudes; even as He has done also with regard to the whole people that was in Jerusalem, saying often unto them: *Thy father was an Amorite and thy mother a Hittite.*[1]

LXXVIII

1. For this king Herod also, when he had learned from the elders of your people—at the time that the Wise Men from Arabia came to him and said that they knew by a star that had appeared in heaven that a king had been born in your land, and 'we have come to worship him,' and when the elders said *in Bethlehem, for thus it is written in the prophet: And thou, Bethlehem, the land of Judah, art by no means least among the rulers of Judah; for out of thee shall go forth a ruler, who shall shepherd my people*[2]—2. When therefore the Wise Men from Arabia had come to Bethlehem, and had worshipped the Child, and had offered to Him gifts, gold and frankincense and myrrh, they were then, after they had worshiped the Boy in Bethlehem, commanded by revelation not to return to Herod. 3. And Joseph too,[3] who was espoused to Mary, though he thought first to cast out Mary who was espoused to him, supposing that she was with child of human intercourse, namely of fornication, was commanded in a vision not to cast his wife out, the angel that appeared to him saying: *that which she has conceived is of the Holy Ghost.*[4]

[1] Ezek. 16. 3. Yet 'it becomes highly probable that Ezekiel's words preserve an ethnographical fact, and that the Jebusites of Jerusalem actually derived their origin from the amalgamation of two strains, Amorite and Hittite' (Burney, *Judges*, 1918, p. lxxxvii).

[2] Matt. 2. 5 *sq.*; Mic. 5. 2.

[3] *And Joseph too . . . that land* (§ 4).—This passage is out of chronological order. It is probably a gloss to illustrate God's interposition.

[4] Matt. 1. 18-20.

4. Moved therefore by fear he did not cast her out, but, as the first enrolment under Cyrenius was then taking place in Judaea, he came back from Nazareth where he was living, to Bethlehem, to which he belonged, to enrol himself. For he was by descent of the tribe of Judah that inhabited that land. Then he is commanded, together with Mary, to go out into Egypt, and to be there, together with the Child, until it should be again revealed to them that they should return into Judaea.[1]

5. Now[2] with regard to the Child having been born at that time, since Joseph had not where to lodge in that village, he lodged in a certain cave[3] nigh the village, and then, while they were there, Mary brought forth the Christ and laid Him in a manger, where the Wise Men from Arabia came and found Him. 6. Now I have already[4] narrated to you, I said, that Isaiah proclaimed beforehand concerning this sign also with regard to the cave. Yet, I added, because of those who have come with you to-day[5] I will mention the chapter again. So I narrated the chapter which I had already written out from Isaiah, saying that on account of those words they who teach the mysteries of Mithra[6] were moved by the devil to say that men are initiated by them in a place to which they give the designation of a cave.

[1] Matt. 2. 13.

[2] *Now . . . the designation of a cave* (§ 6).—Sections 5 and 6 seem to belong to the same interpolation as §§ 3, 4 (*And Joseph too . . . that land*).

[3] *in a certain cave.*—lxx. 1. The tradition that our Lord was born in a cave is as old as the *Protevangelium of St. James* §§ 18, 19, 21 (2nd cent.). Origen (*c. Cels.* i. 51) says expressly that both the cave and the manger were in his time shown in Bethlehem. In Palestine caves are often used as stables.

[4] lxx. 2 *sq.*

[5] *those who have come with you to-day.*—See Introd., pp. xviii. *sq.*

[6] *Mithra.*—lxx. 1 note.

7. Then Herod,[1] when the Wise Men from Arabia had not returned to him, as he required them to do, but had departed to their country by another way in accordance with the commands given them, and when Joseph, together with Mary and the Child, had already gone off to Egypt, as had been revealed to them, (Herod, I say) not knowing the Boy whom the Wise Men had come to worship, commanded that every single one of the boys that were in Bethlehem should be slain. 8. Now this had been prophesied by Jeremiah as about to come to pass, the Holy Spirit saying thus by him: *A sound was heard in Ramah, weeping and great lamentation; Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.*[2] Because therefore of the sound which was to be heard from Ramah, namely, from Arabia—for until even the present time there is a place called Ramah in Arabia[3]—weeping was to overtake the place where Rachel, the wife of Jacob who was surnamed Israel, the holy patriarch, lies buried, namely Bethlehem, for the women were weeping for their own children that were slain, and had no consolation for that which had happened to them. 9. For that saying also of Isaiah, *He shall take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria,*[4] meant that the power of the devil, who dwelt in Damascus, should be overcome by Christ at His very birth. And this is proved to have taken place. For the

[1] *Then Herod.*—The interpolations are now ended (see § 5 note).
[2] Jer. 31. 15; *cf.* Matt. 2. 18.
[3] *Ramah in Arabia.*—In Ezek. 27. 22 the LXX mentions Ramah with Saba, both, apparently, in Arabia (*cf.* Gen. 10. 7, 'Raamah'. The Hebrew word in Ezek. and in Gen. differs from that of Jeremiah, but this would not matter to J. He however appeals only to the fact that in his day there was a Ramah in Arabia. Strabo (*floruit c.* 24 B.C.) speaks of the Rhammanitai there (xvi. 4. 24). But how the sound from Arabia was to reach Bethlehem J. does not explain.
[4] Isa. 8. 4. See lxxvii. 2 *sq.*

Wise Men, who had been carried off as spoil for all kinds of evil actions, which were wrought in them by that demon, by coming and worshipping Christ are shown to have departed from that power which had taken them as spoil, which (power) the word signified to us in a mystery as dwelling in Damascus.[1]

10. And that selfsame power, as being sinful and wicked, he rightly calls Samaria[2] in parable. Now that Damascus did and does belong to the land of Arabia, even though it is now allotted to that which is called Syrophoenicia,[3] not even any of you can deny. So that it would be well, Gentlemen, if you were to learn the things that you do not understand from them who have received grace from God, even us Christians, and not to be always striving to prop up your own doctrines, and do despite to those of God. 11. Therefore was it that unto us this grace was transferred, as Isaiah speaks, saying as follows: *This people draweth nigh to Me; with their lips they honour Me; but their heart is far off from Me; but in vain do they worship Me, teaching the precepts and doctrines of men. Therefore, behold, I will again transfer this people, and will transfer them, and will take away the wisdom of their wise men, and the understanding of their prudent men will I annul.*[4]

[1] J. interprets 'the power of Damascus' as the power of Satan who dwelt in Damascus, and had taken the Wise Men prisoners. But their coming to Bethlehem shows that Satan's power had been taken by Christ. See lxxvii. 4 note, and *cf.* lxxxviii. 1. *cf.* Irenaeus III. xvii (xvi) 4. Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, *c. Jud.* iii.

[2] *Samaria.*—Tertullian (*Adv. Jud.* 9. *cf. Adv. Marc.* iii. 13) follows J. in this also, though with him the Magi are not so much the spoils taken by the devil as the spoils taken by Christ. See also the *Altercatio Simonis et Theophili* iii. 14 especially with P. Corssen's note on that passage 1890, p. 20.

[3] *Damascus . . . now allotted to . . . Syrophoenicia.*—By Septimus Severus A.D. 194. See Introd., p. xii.

[4] Isa. 29. 13 *sq.*

LXXIX

1. Then Trypho,[1] waxing somewhat wroth, as was plain from his countenance (though retaining his respect for Scripture), said unto me: God's statements indeed are holy, but your explanations are artificial, as is clear from those you have given, or, rather, are even blasphemous. For you say that angels have acted maliciously and have fallen away from God.[2]

2. I answered him in a more gentle tone, for I desired to make him prepared to listen to me, and said: I admire, Sir, this your piety, and I pray that you may have the same attitude also concerning Him to whom the angels are stated in Scripture to minister, as Daniel says, that *one as a Son of man is led unto the Ancient of days, and to Him is given all rule for ever and ever.*[3] But to teach you, Sir, that it is not our own foolhardiness that has led us to this interpretation with which you find fault, I will adduce testimony for you from Isaiah himself, for he says that evil angels have dwelt and still dwell even in Tanis[4] in the land of Egypt. 3. These are his words:

[1] The whole of this chapter seems to be an interpolation, or at least to be out of its proper place. Introd., p. xix.

[2] *You say that angels have acted maliciously and have fallen away from God.*—Presumably in the lacuna, for T. can hardly refer to lxxviii. 9 or xlv. 4. In *Bresh. R.* on Gen. 6. 2 R. Simeon ben Jochai (*c.* A.D. 130-160) pronounces a curse on those who say that 'the sons of God' were angels. But the Zohar on Gen. 6. 4 agrees with J., and so R. Judah (*c.* A.D. 200) and another, according to *Pirqe de R. Eliezer* xxii.

[3] Dan. 7. 13 *sq.*

[4] *evil angels have dwelt and still dwell even in Tanis.*—The LXX of Isa. 30. 4 is, 'For there are in Tanis princes, evil messengers', where Tanis=Zoan, and *evil* may represent *Hanēphim*, a corruption of *Hanes*. The pressure of theosophical religions claiming to represent ancient Egyptian teaching (*e.g.*, in the

Woe ! ye apostate children ! Thus saith the Lord : Ye took counsel not by Me, and made agreements not by My spirit, to add sins to sins. Ye who take your journey to go down into Egypt—but ye did not make enquiry of Me—to be helped by Pharaoh and to be sheltered with the shelter of Egyptians. For the shelter of Pharaoh shall be your shame, and to them that trust on the Egyptians (shall be) a reproach, for there are in Tanis as rulers evil angels. In vain will they toil laboriously towards a people, which will not profit them unto any help, but unto shame and reproach.[1] 4. But Zechariah also says, as you yourself mentioned,[2] that *the devil stood on the right hand of Jeshua the priest, to oppose him, and that (the Lord) said : The Lord rebuke thee, who chose Jerusalem.*[3] And again it is written in Job, as you yourself also said[2] that *the angels came to stand before the Lord, and the devil had come with them.*[4] And we have the serpent described by Moses in the beginning of Genesis as deceiving Eve and being cursed.[5] And we know that in Egypt magicians[6] tried to equal the miracle that was wrought by God through Moses His faithful attendant.[7] And you are aware that David said : *the gods of the heathen are demons.*[8]

Hermetic writings) will have induced J. to see in the Greek version a statement of spiritual agency. *Cf.* Rev. 2. 13 of Pergamum, 'where Satan dwelleth.'

[1] Isa. 30. 1-5.

[2] *as you yourself also mentioned . . . as you yourself said.*—T. has never, in our present text, spoken either of this passage in Zech., or of that in Job. See Introd., p. xviii.

[3] Zech. 3. 1 *sq. cf.* ciii. 5.

[4] Job. 1. 6 ; *cf.* 2. 1.

[5] Gen. 3. 1-6, 14.

[6] Ex. 7. 12, 22 ; 8. 7.

[7] Num. 12. 7. *Cf.* xlvi. 3 note.

[8] Ps. 96. 5. *Cf.* lv. 2 note.

LXXX

1. To this Trypho[1] replied: I told you, Sir, that you do your utmost to be careful by keeping close to Scripture. But tell me, do you acknowledge of a truth that this place Jerusalem will be rebuilt, and expect that your people will be gathered together and rejoice with Christ, together with the patriarchs and the prophets, and the saints of our race, or even of them who became proselytes, before your Christ came, or did you concede acknowledgment of this, that you might appear to overcome us completely in our discussion?[2]

2. I said: I am not such a poor creature, Trypho, as to say other than I think. I have acknowledged to you earlier that I and many others do hold this opinion, even as you also know well that this is to take place. But I also informed you[3] that even many Christians of pure and godly mind do not accept it. 3. For I made it clear to you[4] that those who are Christians in name,[5] but in reality are godless and impious heretics, teach in all respects what is blasphemous and godless and foolish. But that you may know that I do not say this before you alone, I will make, so far as in me lies, a collection of all

[1] lxxx, lxxxi deal with the Millennium and those who believe in it. Is this subject another interpolation? It seems to have no close connexion with what precedes or follows.

[2] T. asks whether J. really believes that (*a*) Jerusalem will be rebuilt, (*b*) Christians together with pre-Christian Jews and proselytes will be gathered and rejoice with Christ (xxvi. 1), or does J. say so only for controversial purposes? Apparently J.'s earlier reference to the rebuilding of Jerusalem has been lost. See also the next note.

[3] *I also informed you.*—The statement that many good Christians do not accept the doctrine of Christ reigning in the rebuilt Jerusalem is nowhere to be found in the *Dialogue*. See Introd., p. xviii.

[4] *For I have made it clear to you,* in xxxv. 1-6.

[5] *Christians in name.*—See § 4 note.

the speeches made by us,[1] in which I will write[2] that I acknowledge whatever I am acknowledging to you. For it is not men, or the doctrines of men, that I choose to follow, but God and the doctrines that come from Him. 4. For even if you yourselves have ever met with some so-called Christians,[3] who yet do not acknowledge this, but even dare to blaspheme the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, who say too that there is no resurrection of the dead, but that their souls ascend to heaven at the very moment of their death—do not suppose that they are Christians, any more than if one examined the matter rightly he would acknowledge as Jews[4] those who are Sadducees, or similar sects of

[1] *I will make . . . a collection of all the speeches made by us.*—The promise is fulfilled by writing our book.

[2] *in which I will write, etc.*—So that you will have a permanent record of my honesty in controversy.

[3] *some so-called Christians.*—J. distinguishes between Christian and Jewish heretics. Under the first head he opposes (*a*) such Gnostics as Marcion, who distinguished between the cruel God of the Jews and the supreme and loving Father; (*b*) those who denied the resurrection of the flesh, attributing immortality to the soul alone. J. thought that the soul of a believer had to wait till the resurrection of the body before it entered heaven, *cf.* v. 3. Irenaeus agrees with J. V. xxxi. 2 (1) *cf. Preaching,* 42, *'Cest par la vertu de cet Esprit que les croyants ressusciteront, quand le corps sera de nouveau uni a l'âme et entrera dans le royaume de Dieu'* (Texeront, 1917). On the importance of the subject see Bp. Chase, *Belief and Creed,* 1919, pp. 152-5. (*c*) In § 5 he implies that such Jewish heretics did not believe in a millennium in Jerusalem. See also lxxxi. 4.

[4] *as Jews.*—J. enumerates seven heretical Jewish sects which orthodox Jews would not acknowledge. Of these nothing whatever is known of the *Genistae,* the *Meristae,* and the *Hellenians* (unless we should read *Hillelites,* the School of Hillel contrasted with that of Shammai). The *Baptists* are probably the same as the Hemerobaptists, of whom Kohler writes (*Jew. Encycl.* vi. 344) *Tôbłê schacharith, lit.* 'morning bathers': Division of Essenes who bathed every morning before the hour of prayer in order to pronounce the name of God with a clean body (Tosef. *Yad.* end: the correct version being given by R. Simeon of Sens: 'The morning bathers said to the Pharisees: We charge you with doing wrong in pronouncing the Name in the morning without

Genistae, and Meristae, and Galileans, and Hellenians, and Pharisees and Baptists (pray, do not be vexed with me as I say all I think), but (would say) that though called Jews and children of Abraham, and acknowledging God with their lips, as God Himself has cried aloud, yet their heart is far from Him.[1] 5. But I, and all other entirely orthodox Christians, know that there will be a resurrection of the flesh, and also a thousand years in a Jerusalem built up and adorned and enlarged,[2] as the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah, and all the rest, acknowledge.

LXXXI

1. For thus saith Isaiah about this period of a thousand years: *For the heaven shall be new and the earth new,*

having taken the ritual bath;' whereupon the Pharisees said: 'We charge you with wrong-doing in pronouncing the Name with a body impure within.)' But it is very doubtful if they ever existed as a separate organization, and do not rather represent only those Jews who were ultra strict about ceremonial bathing.

Of the *Galileans* also nothing is really known, though the guess has been made that they accepted the teaching of Judas the Gaulonite, or of Galilee, who led a revolt against the Romans in A.D. 6, and is generally believed to be the founder of the Zealots (but see Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity,* i. 421-445). The remaining two are the well-known *Sadducees* and *Pharisees,* but it is uncomprehensible how J. can have denied the orthodoxy of the latter, when almost all the post-Biblical Jewish literature that has come down to us represents their teaching. Hegesippus, a Hebrew-Christian (*c.* A.D. 175), also gives a list of seven sects 'opposed to the tribe of Judah and the Christ: Essenes, Galileans, Hemerobaptists, Masbotheans [Syriac = Baptists], Samaritans, Sadducees, Pharisees'. (Eus. *Ch. Hist.* IV. xxii. 6). Epiphanius (*c.* A.D. 380) mentions seven sects of the Jews before the Incarnation—not, as it seems, seven sects repudiated by orthodox Jews—*viz.* Sadducees, Scribes, Pharisees, Hemerobaptists, Nasaraei, Ossenes (probably really = Essenes), Herodians (*Panarion Haer.* 14-20, *Gr. Chr. Schr.* i. 207-227).

[1] Isa. 29. 13.

[2] *a thousand years in a Jerusalem built up and adorned and enlarged.* lxxxi. 4 note.

and they shall not remember the former things, nor shall they come into their heart, but joy and gladness shall they find in her, such as I create. For, behold, I make Jerusalem gladness and My people joy, and I will be glad over Jerusalem, and will rejoice over My people. And there shall no more be heard in her sound of weeping nor sound of crying, and there shall not be there one of untimely days any more, and an aged man who does not fill out his time. For the youth shall be a hundred years old, and the sinner that dieth shall be a hundred years old and (still) accursed. 2. And they shall build houses and live in them themselves, and shall plant vineyards, and themselves eat their produce. They shall not build and others inhabit, and shall not plant and others eat: for according to the days of the tree of life[1] *shall be the days of My people; the works of their toil shall grow old. My elect shall not toil in vain, nor bring forth children for a curse; for they shall be a righteous seed blessed by the Lord, and their offering with them. And it shall be that before they have cried, I will hear them; while they are still speaking, I will say: What is it? Then wolves and lambs shall feed together, and a lion shall eat stubble like an ox, but a serpent earth as it were bread. They shall not hurt nor ruin on the holy mountain, saith the Lord.*[2]

3. Now we are of opinion, I said, that by these words, *For according to the days of the tree shall be the days of my people, the works of their toil shall grow old,* he

[1] *the tree of life.*—So the LXX, but the words 'of life' were certainly not in J.'s original text, see §3, and are not in the Hebrew. The addition is probably Jewish in origin, contrasting the effect of eating of the tree of life with eating of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen. 2. 9).

[2] Isa. 65. 17-25.

signifies a thousand years[1] in a mystery. For as it was said to Adam that *in the day in which he should eat of the tree, in that he should die,* we know that he did not fill up a thousand years. We understand also that the expression, *a day of the Lord is as a thousand years,*[2] coincides with this. 4. And, further, a man among us named John,[3] one of the apostles of Christ, prophesied in a Revelation made to him that they who have believed our Christ will spend a thousand years in Jerusalem,[4] and that afterwards the universal, and, in one word, eternal resurrection of all at once, will take place, and also the judgment. And this too our Lord said: *They shall neither marry, nor be given in marriage, but shall be equal to angels, being children of God (that is) of the resurrection.*[5]

[1] *a thousand years.*—God's people ought to live a thousand years. Adam did not, because he died during 'the day' when he ate of the tree. He lived 930 years (Gen. 5. 5); slightly less than a full day, which is 1,000 years (Ps. 90. 4; 2 Pet. 3. 8). This normal age of man shall be restored hereafter. See also cxxxviii. 3. *cf.* 'I said to him, *On the day thou eatest of it thou shalt surely die.* But you know not whether it is one of My days or one of yours. Behold, I give him one of My days, which is a thousand years' (*Bresh. R.* on Gen. 3. 8).

[2] Ps. 90. 4; 2 Pet. 3. 8; *cf. Barn.* xv. 4.

[3] *John.*—The earliest statement that the Revelation was written by 'John, one of the apostles of Christ'. Harnack places J.'s residence at Ephesus *c.* A.D. 135.

[4] *they who have believed in our Christ will spend a thousand years in Jerusalem.*—Rev. 20. 4, 6. After the end of the 1,000 years Satan is to be released, and the final war, the general resurrection, and the judgment are to take place (Rev. 20. 7-15). J. does not mention the final war here. The millennium is thus an interregnum. The doctrine was taken over from the Jews, who, however, differed among themselves as to the length of the Messianic kingdom. In cxiii. 3 *sq.* J. refers to the division of the land by Messiah then. Unlike Papias (Euseb. *Ch. Hist.* iii. 39) and J., *Barn.* (xv. *sq.*) regards the second Advent as purely spiritual, and does not contemplate a millennial kingdom with Palestine for its earthly centre. See further Harnack, *Hist. Dogma* i. 168 *sq.*; ii. 24, 297 *sq.* and *Millennium* in the *Encycl. Brit.* 1929.

[5] J. refers to Lk. 20. 35 *sq.*, but probably from memory.

LXXXII

1. For even until the present time gifts of prophecy[1] exist among us, from which fact you yourselves ought to understand that what was of old in your nation has been transferred to us. For just as there were also false prophets in the time of the holy prophets that were among you, so there are among us also many false teachers,[2] of whom our Lord bade us beware beforehand, so that we should never be at a loss, being aware that He foreknew what would happen to us after His resurrection from the dead, and (His) ascent to heaven. 2. For He said that we must be slain and hated for His name's sake, and that many false prophets and false Christs would come forward in His name, and would lead many astray.[3] And this is the case. 3. For many have taught what is godless and blasphemous and wicked, falsely stamping their teaching with His name, and have taught what has been put in their minds by the unclean spirit of the devil, and teach it until now. And we strive to persuade them, as well as you, not to be led astray, knowing, as we do, that everyone who can say what is true and saith it not shall be judged by God, as God solemnly testified by Ezekiel, saying: *I have set thee to be a watchman for the house of Judah. If the sinner sin, and thou dost not solemnly testify to him, he indeed shall perish by his sin, but from thee will I require his blood. But if thou solemnly testifiest to him, thou shalt be innocent.*[4] So it

[1] *gifts of prophecy.*—On the transference of prophecy from Jews to Christians see lii. 4; lxxxvii. 5 *sq.*; lxxxviii. 1 (to women as well as men). On Eusebius' reference to this passage see Introd., p. xv.

[2] *false prophets . . . false teachers.*—This may be a reminiscence of 2 Pet. 2. 1. See Moffatt, Introd. to *N.T.*, 1918, p. 372.

[3] *cf.* Mark 13. 6, 12, 13, 22, and the parallel passages in Matt. and Luke.

[4] Ezek. 3. 17-19; 33. 7-9.

is that out of fear we endeavour for our part to discourse in accordance with the Scriptures, not from love of money, or of vainglory, or of pleasure. For no one can bring any charge of this kind against our life. For we do not at all wish to live like the rulers of your people, with whom God finds fault, saying: *Your rulers are partners with thieves, loving bribes, following after a reward.*[1] But if you do know any such even among us, yet at least do not blaspheme, or try to misinterpret, the Scriptures and Christ because of such men.

LXXXIII

1. For example,[2] your teachers have dared to expound the words: *The Lord saith to my Lord, Sit thou on My right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool,*[3] as having been said of Hezekiah, as though he was bidden

[1] Isa. 1. 23.

[2] *For example.*—J. adduces Ps. 110 (in lxxxiii); Isa. 7. 14 (in lxxxiv); and Ps. 24. 7 (in lxxxv), as examples of misinterpretation of the Scriptures by Jewish teachers.

[3] Ps. 110. 1. See also Tert. *Adv. Marc.* v. 9. J. had quoted and explained this Psalm in xxxii. 6-xxxiii. 2, (*cf.* lxiii. 3; lxxvi. 7) and would hardly have adduced it again, save merely by reference, in the same conference with T. We have probably two drafts of the one discussion. J. however does defend repetition in lxxxv. 4 *sq.* Although R. Hillel (third century A.D.) appears to have thought that Hezekiah was the Messiah (T. B. *Sanhedr.* 99a and *cf.* lxxxiv. 1 note) there seems to be no corroborative evidence that this Psalm was directly interpreted of him. It was applied to Messiah (*Yalqut, ibid.*) who sits and studies the Law while God (*Mechilta* on Ex. 15. 7; T. J. *Berak.* v. 2, p. 9b; Midr. *Tehillim in loco; cf. Yalqut* in loco) and to Messiah being set on God's right hand and Abraham on the left (*Yalqut, ibid*), and especially to Messiah (*Yalqut, ibid.*) who sits and studies the Law while God fights (*Midr. Tehillim*). R. Ishmael also applies the words, 'Thou art a priest for ever' (*v.* 4) to Abraham, but omits all reference to 'after the order of Melchizedek' (*Yalqut, ibid.*, from *Brêshith R.* on Gen. 17. 2). But in *Lev. R.* on Lev. 19. 23 it is explained that Abraham received the priesthood lost by Melchizedek because of the latter's sinful speech in praising Abraham before he praised God.

be seated on the right side of the temple, when the king of Assyria sent to him with threats, and it was signified to him by Isaiah that he should not be afraid of him. And indeed Isaiah's words were so fulfilled, and the King of Assyria was turned back that he should not wage war against Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah, and an angel of the Lord slew of the camp of the Assyrians up to a hundred and eighty-five thousand men, as we know and acknowledge. 2. But it is clear that the Psalm was not spoken of Hezekiah. For it runs thus : *The Lord saith to my Lord, Sit thou on My right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool. A rod of power shall he send forth over Jerusalem,*[1] *and he shall rule in the midst of thine enemies. In the splendour of the saints, before the morning star, did I beget thee. The Lord sware and will not repent, Thou art priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.* 3. Who does not acknowledge that Hezekiah is not priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek? And who does not know that he is not the redeemer of Jerusalem? And that he himself did not send a rod of power into Jerusalem, and rule in the midst of his enemies, but that it was God who turned his enemies away from him as he wept and wailed? 4. But our Jesus, though He has not come in glory, sent forth a rod of power into Jerusalem, the word of calling and

[1] *over Jerusalem.—Cf.* §§ 3. 4, 'into Jerusalem'. The Hebrew and the LXX have 'out of Zion'. J. desired to emphasize his thought that Jerusalem was not to be merely the place from which the Messiah should exercise His rule, but was also itself intended to receive Him in full submission. In xxxii. 6 we find 'out of Zion', and in I *Apol.* xlv. 3 'out of Jerusalem', but perhaps the copyists corrected the unusual phrase 'over (into) Jerusalem' in those two passages, and left it here. Arch. refers to similar alterations by the copyists in xxx. 2; lvi. 2; lix. 1, and especially lxiv. 7; lxxiii. 2-4; *cf.* lxxxi. 2. *Cf.* also Introd., p. xxxiv.

of repentance unto all the nations, where the demons used to bear rule over them, as David says: *The gods of the heathen are demons.*[1] And with might has His word persuaded many to forsake the demons whom they were serving, and by Him to believe on God the All-ruler, because the gods of the heathen are demons. And the phrase *in the splendour of the saints, of the womb before the morning star did I beget thee,*[2] was spoken to Christ, as we said before.[3]

LXXXIV

1. Also the words, *Behold, the virgin shall conceive and bear a son*[4] were spoken beforehand of Him. For if he

[1] Ps. 96. 5. See lv. 2 note.
[2] Ps. 110. 3.
[3] lxiii. 3.
[4] Isa. 7. 14. For other passages in the *Dialogue* see under (*b*). The discussion here is hardly fuller than in lxvii. 1. Two Jewish objections to the Christian use of this passage are mentioned. (*a*) § 3 'Virgin' (παρθένος, LXX) is a mistranslation; the meaning is a 'young woman (νεᾶνις), as Aquila actually renders it. On the question whether J. was directly acquainted with Aquila's version, see Introd., p. xxxiv. J. argues that 'sign' implies something out of the ordinary. The same argument is found in Irenaeus, (who also refers to νεᾶνις as a recent translation, and mentions Theodotion and Aquila) *Adv. Haer.* III. xxvi. (xxi); Tert. *Adv. Jud.* 9.

(*b*) The promise refers to Hezekiah, xliii. 8; lxvii. 1 (by T. himself); lxviii. 7; lxxi. 3; lxxvii. 1 (by T.). This is a common Jewish opinion, although Hezekiah seems to have been nine years old when Ahaz came to the throne, as Kimchi shows. On Hezekiah himself being sometimes thought to be the Messiah see lxxxiii. 1 note, and the story of R. Jochanan ben Zaqqai (died *c.* A.D. 90), who gave a curious charge to his scholars just before his death, translated by Mr. A. Cohen thus, 'Remove all the utensils because of the defilement (of the corpse), and prepare a seat for Hezekiah, king of Judah, who is coming' (T.B. *Berakoth,* 28b). The last clause is explained as meaning that Hezekiah will accompany him into the next world. In any case the saying appears to identify Hezekiah with the Messiah. See further *Christian Evidences* §§ 186-191; Box on Matt. 1. 23 (*Cent. Bible,* pp. 77-79). On other Jewish authorities see Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* ii. 332.

of whom Isaiah spake was not about to be born of a virgin, of whom did the Holy Spirit cry aloud, *Behold, the Lord Himself shall give a sign, Behold, the virgin shall conceive and shall bear a son?* For if he too was about to be born of human intercourse like all other first-born sons, why then did God say He was giving a sign, a thing which is not common to all first-born sons? 2. But what is really a sign, and what was to become a sure proof to the human race, namely the first-born[1] of all creatures to become incarnate through a virgin's womb, and really to become a child, this He anticipated by the spirit of the prophets in various ways, as I have related to you,[2] and He made the proclamation beforehand, in order that when it took place it might be known to have taken place by the power and purpose of the maker of the universe; just as Eve came into being from one rib of Adam, and as all other living creatures were begotten by the Word of God[3] in the beginning. 3. But you dare to mutilate the interpretations[4] which your elders made at the court of Ptolemy king of Egypt, saying that the Scripture has not the meaning they interpret, but, *Behold,* he says, *the young woman will conceive,* as though something of importance was being signified, if a woman was to bear after human intercourse, as all young women do save the barren, and these God, if He will, can make bear. 4. For the mother of Samuel, though she had not borne, yet bare, because it was the will of God, and the wife of Abraham the holy patriarch, and Elizabeth who bare John the Baptist, and certain

[1] Col. 1. 15. See my *Colossians* (Camb. Greek Test.) note on πρωτότοκος. *Cf.* c. 2 note.

[2] lxiii *sq.*

[3] *begotten by the Word of God.*—See cxiv. 3 note.

[4] *you dare to mutilate the interpretations.*—See lxviii. 7; lxxi. 1.

other women likewise. So that you must not suppose that it is impossible for God to do all whatsoever He will. And especially, when it was prophesied that it should be, do not dare to mutilate or misinterpret the prophecies, for you will injure yourselves alone, but will do no harm to God.

LXXXV

1. In the same way some of you dare to expound the prophecy that says: *Lift up, O rulers, your gates, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting gates, that the king of glory may come in*,[1] as having been spoken of Hezekiah, and others as of Solomon. But it is not possible to prove that it has been spoken either of the one or of the other, or in fact of any who was called your king, but only of our Christ, who appeared without form and without honour, as Isaiah said, and David, and all the Scriptures; who is Lord of hosts because of the will of the Father who gave (them) to Him; who also rose from the dead and ascended into Heaven, as also the Psalm and the other Scriptures declared, and proclaimed Him Lord of Hosts. Of this you can easily be now convinced by what comes under your very eyes—if you so will. 2. For when exorcised[2] by the name of this very One who is the Son of God and first-born[3] of every creature, and was born by a virgin, and became man liable to suffering, and was crucified in the time of Pontius Pilate by your people, and died, and rose from the dead, and ascended into heaven, every demon is overcome and subdued. 3. But if you exorcise by any name of persons born among you,

[1] Ps. 24. 7. See xxxvi. 3-6. The whole of this chapter may be another draft of all that chapter. See Introd., p. xix.

[2] *when exorcised.*—xxx. 3 note.

[3] *first-born.*—lxxxiv. 2 note. The following clauses suggest the Creed.

whether kings, or righteous men, or prophets, or patriarchs, not one of the demons will be made subject to you. Yet if any of you were to exorcise by the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, it will perhaps be made subject. Now however, I said, those of your race who practise adjuration use art in their exorcising like the heathen, and use fumigations and (magic) knots.[1] 4. But that they are also angels and powers, whom the word of the prophecy that was given by David (bade) *lift up the gates*, that He who rose from the dead, the Lord of hosts, should enter in, according to the will of the Father, even Jesus Christ, the word of David has likewise proved, which I will mention also again because of these who were not present with us yesterday. For it is for their sake that I say very briefly much of what was already said yesterday.[2] 5. Now if I say this to you, even though I often repeat myself, I know I do not speak foolishly. For it is absurd to see the sun,

[1] (*magic*) *knots*.—The word in itself might include both the scrupulous arrangement of the knots of the phylacteries, and the bands by which they are affixed to the forehead and the left arm in such a way that they altogether make up the letters SDY ('the Almighty'), and also the knots of the Fringes. But as it is used here in connexion with exorcism it refers (as in Plato, *Rep.* 364 C.) rather to the use of knots for purely magical purposes, which is a common custom in folklore. See Frazer, *Golden Bough*[3], *Taboo, pp.* 315 *sqq. Cf.* the use of Magical Circles, see A. E. Crawley, *E.R.E.*, viii. 321-324. Of modern Jewish practice we read, 'In Kovno, when a wart is to be removed, a knot is tied round it with a thread, and this knot is placed under the threshold. To cure a person who is possessed one counts nine knots; this appears to be German' (*Jewish Enc.* : s. v. 'knot', where references are added). The knots perhaps symbolize the binding of those demons which cause the particular diseases that are to be removed.

[2] *yesterday . . . yesterday*.—J.'s defence of repetition is so natural that this part may be a *procés verbal* of the second day's discussion. This suggests that this second part of the *Dialogue* belongs to a different recension from the first. The second as completed by J. may have been lost, and the original notes substituted for it.

and the moon, and the other stars, ever taking the same course, and the same changes of hours; and also (to see) the mathematician, if asked how much twice two are, though he has often said four, not ceasing to say again that they are four, and other things likewise which are acknowledged in the same fashion; and then to find him who draws his discourses from the Scriptures of the prophets not citing always the same Scriptures, but considering that he himself can produce and say something better than Scripture. 6. Now this is the saying by which I signified that God made it clear that there are angels and powers in heaven: *Praise the Lord from the heaven; praise Him in the highest; praise Him all ye His angels; praise Him all ye His hosts.*[1]

Then one of those who had come with them on the second day, called Mnaseas,[2] said: We also are glad that you undertake to repeat your words again for us.

7. I said: Hear, my Friends, the passage of Scripture that has led me to do this. Jesus bade us love even our enemies, as also Isaiah had proclaimed at some length, (foretelling) also the mystery of the new birth both of us, and of all who look forward to the manifestation of Christ in Jerusalem, and endeavour to please Him by their lives. 8. Now these are the words spoken by Isaiah: *Hear ye the word of the Lord, ye that tremble at His word. Say ye, our brethren, to them that hate and detest you, that the name of the Lord has been glorified. He hath*

[1] Ps. 148. 1 *sq.*

[2] *Mnaseas.*—*cf.* lvi. 13. Josephus (*c. Apion*, i. 23 § 216) mentions a Greek writer of this name who had spoken of the Jews, but it is a form of the word Manasseh (properly Mnashsheh, thence *Mnashyah* and *Mnasyah*), and appears to have been not uncommon in early Jewish writing (*cf.* Krauss, *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, Oct. 1892. V., p. 126). Mnason (Acts 21. 16) is presumably another form of the same word.

appeared in their gladness, and those others shall be ashamed. A voice of weeping from the city, a voice of the people, a voice of the Lord rendering recompense to the proud. Before she which travaileth hath borne, and before the pains of travail come, she hath brought forth a male child. 9. Who ever heard of such, and who hath ever seen thus—if even the earth travailed in one day, if it were even to bring forth a nation in one moment—that Zion travailed and brought forth her children? But I gave this expectation even to one that beareth not, said the Lord. Behold I have made her that beareth and her that is barren, saith the Lord. Be glad, O Jerusalem, and come in festal crowds, all ye who love her. Rejoice, all ye that mourn over her, that ye may suck, and be filled from the breasts of her consolation, that ye may suck up with relish from the entrance of His glory.[1]

LXXXVI

1. When I had said this I added: Learn also that He whom the Scriptures show as about to come again in glory after being crucified had the type of the tree of life,[2] which it was said was planted in paradise, and also of the events that are to happen to all the righteous. Moses was sent with a rod for the release of the people,[3] and holding this in his hands at the head of the people he divided the sea,[4] and by means of this he saw water springing from the rock.[5] And by casting a tree into the water at Marah, when it was bitter, he made it

[1] Isa. 66. 5-11.

[2] *the tree of life.*—The crucifixion with its consequent glory was prefigured from the first in the Tree of Life, and also in the use of rod and tree repeatedly in the Old Testament. See lxxiii. 1, note on Ps. 96. 10.

[3] Ex. 4. 17. [4] Ex. 14. 16. [5] Ex. 17. 5 *sq.*; Num. 20. 8.

sweet.[1] 2. By casting rods into the water-troughs Jacob succeeded in his uncle's sheep conceiving, that he might gain possession of their offspring.[2] With his rod the same Jacob boasts that he has crossed the river.[3] He said that a ladder had been seen of him, and the Scripture has shown that God was stationed on it,[4] and we have already proved from the Scriptures that it was not the Father.[5] And when Jacob had poured oil over a stone[6] in the same place, witness was borne to him by God himself who appeared to him, that he had anointed a pillar to the God who appeared to him. 3. And that Christ was proclaimed in figure as a Stone by many passages of Scripture have we likewise proved. And that every form of anointing,[7] whether of oil or of myrrh, referred to Him, have we likewise proved. For the Scripture says: *Therefore God, thy God, anointed thee with oil of gladness more than thy companions.* For also all the kings and other anointed persons had their privilege from Him of being called kings and Christ; in the same way that He Himself received from the Father that of being King and Christ and Priest and Angel, and all else that He has or had. 4. The rod of Aaron by bearing buds proved him to be priest.[8] That the Christ would come as a rod from the root of Jesse did Isaiah prophesy.[9] And David says that the righteous is as

[1] Ex. 15. 23-25. [2] Gen. 30. 37 *sq.* [3] Gen. 32. 10.
[4] Gen. 28. 12 *sq.* [5] See lx. 2.
[6] *a stone.*—J. alludes to his argument that Christ was foretold under the figure of a Stone. See lxxvi. 1 note.
[7] *every form of anointing.*—The only reference besides the anointing of Jacob's stone (§ 2) which is given by J. is that of Ps. 45. 7 (lvi. 14; lxiii. 4) quoted immediately, and the following mention of kings and priests. Did he say more in the great lacuna? See also xlix. 1.
[8] Num. 17. 8. J. reverts to the rod and tree.
[9] Isa. 11. 1.

the tree planted by the water-courses, which is to bear its fruit in its season, and its leaf is not to fall.[1] And the righteous is said to be about to flourish as a palm.[2] 5. From a tree did God appear to Abraham, as it is written, *by the oak of Mamre.*[3] Seventy willows[4] and twelve fountains did the people find when they had crossed the Jordan.[5] With *rod and staff* does David say he has been *comforted by God.*[6] 6. By casting a rod into the river Jordan Elisha brought the iron axehead up,[7] with which the sons of the prophets had gone to cut trees to build the house, in which they purposed to recite the Law[8] and the ordinances of God, and to meditate upon them; as also Christ redeemed us who have been baptized, from those most grievous sins which we had committed, by his being crucified on the tree and sanctifying us by water, and made us a house of prayer[9] and worship. And it was a rod which marked out Judah as the father of them who, in mysterious type, were born of Tamar.[10]

[1] Ps. 1. 3. [2] Ps. 92. 12. [3] Gen. 18. 1.

[4] *Seventy willows.*—Ex. 15. 27; Num. 33. 9. In both passages the Heb. and the LXX have 'seventy palm trees.' No reason has been suggested for what seems to be a mere blunder. See Introd., p. xxxiv.

[5] *the Jordan.*—Unlike willows this may well be a mere slip by the copyist, for the Red Sea.

[6] Ps. 23. 4.

[7] 2 Kings 6. 1-7. Tert. (*Adv. Jud.* 13) dilates on this type of the cross of Christ. *Cf.* Irenaeus, V. xvii. 4 (3); Gr. *Fragm.* 26.

[8] *in which they purposed to recite the Law, etc.*—A natural and even legitimate deduction from the fact that they were 'sons of the prophets'. Kimchi and other Rabbis say that Gehazi was so unpopular that Elisha had but few disciples, but when he went away the old building was not large enough to hold them.

[9] *us a house.*—See *Barn.* xvi. 6-10.

[10] Gen. 38. 25. Irenaeus [IV. xxxix (xxv)] refers to the same incident, but finds the sign in the scarlet thread bound on the hand of the younger twin. Tamar and Pharez were ancestors of the Messiah (Matt. i. 3) and 'the son of Pharez' is a title used of the Messiah in some of the hymns (*Piyutim*) in the Jewish Prayer Book, *e.g.*, the *Lkah Dôdi* by Solomon ha Levi in the xvi cent (Singer, p. 112). See further Strack-Billerbeck on Matt. *loc. cit.*

LXXXVII

1. At this point in my discourse Trypho said: Do not suppose hereafter that I am trying to upset your arguments, when I make any fresh inquiry, for I desire to learn about the very questions that I put to you. 2. Tell me then about the word said by Isaiah: *A rod shall come forth from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall arise from the root of Jesse, and the spirit of God shall rest upon Him, the spirit of wisdom, and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and piety, and shall fill him with the spirit of the fear of God.*[1] He said that although he granted me that this was spoken with reference to Christ, I say that He already existed as God, and that He was incarnate according to the will of God, and became man by the virgin. How then he asked, can He be proved to have already existed, seeing that He is filled by the powers of the Holy Ghost which the word enumerates by Isaiah, as though He lacked them?

3. I answered: You have asked a most sensible and intelligent question; for indeed it does seem to be a puzzle. But listen to what I say, that you may see the reason even of this. These powers of the spirit thus enumerated are said by the word to have come upon Him, not as though He lacked them, but as being about to make their rest permanently upon Him, that is, to come

[1] Isa. 11. 1-3. See xxxix. 2. Isa. 11. 1 was quoted in lxxxvi. 4. J. replies in this and the next chapter to T.'s difficulty, and says (*a*) All prophetical gifts were to find their resting place in Christ, and no prophet has arisen among the Jews since, though there are prophets among believers in Christ. (*b*) Earlier prophets had separate and partial gifts of the spirit; Christ had the spirit Himself poured out on Him; (*c*) Even as an infant He showed that He possessed the Spirit.

to an end with Him, that there should be no longer prophets in your nation after the old manner, as you also can plainly see, for after Him there has been no prophet at all among you. 4. And further (that you may understand) that the prophets you have had, receiving each perhaps one or two powers from God, did and spake these things which we have learned from the Scriptures, consider what I say. For Solomon had the spirit of wisdom, Daniel that of understanding and counsel, Moses of might and piety, Elijah of fear, and Isaiah of knowledge; and the others also in the same way either had one each, or alternately one power and another, as had Jeremiah, and the Twelve,[1] and David, and in fact all the other prophets who have been among you. 5. The Spirit rested therefore, ceased, in other words, when Christ came. But after Him, as this dispensation[2] among men began in His time, it was necessary that those gifts should cease being among you, and yet, when they had taken their rest in Christ, should again, as was prophesied, be given by the grace of the power of that Spirit to them that believe on Him, according to His knowledge of the deserts of each. 6. And that it was prophesied that this would be done by Him after His ascent to heaven, I have already said and now repeat. It said therefore: *He ascended on high; He led captivity captive; He gave gifts to the sons of men.*[3] And again it is said in another prophecy: *And it shall be after these things that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and upon my men-servants and upon my maid-servants, and they shall prophesy.*[4]

[1] *the Twelve.*—xxii. 1 note.
[2] *this dispensation.*—See xxx. 3 note.
[3] Ps. 68. 18; *cf.* Eph. 4. 8. *vide supra* xxxix. 4.
[4] Joel 2. 28 *sq.*

LXXXVIII

1. And among us may be seen both women and men with gifts[1] from the spirit of God. So that it was not because He lacked power that it was prophesied that there should come on Him the powers that were enumerated by Isaiah, but because there would be none after them. And let that also be a witness to you which I told you[2] was done by the Wise Men from Arabia, who came the moment the Child was born and worshipped Him. 2. For even when He was born He held His power, and growing after the fashion common to all other human beings, and using the things that were suitable to Him, He apportioned what was proper to each stage of growth, being nourished with all kinds of food, and remaining thirty years (though they might be more or even less)[3] until John came in front of Him as the herald of His coming, acting as the forerunner for His baptism, as I have already shown. 3. And then when Jesus came to the river Jordan, where John was baptizing, when Jesus went down to the water, fire was even kindled in the Jordan,[4] and when He was rising up from the water the

[1] *both women and men with gifts.*—See lxxxii. 1 note.

[2] lxxviii. 9. Our Lord's power set the Wise Men free from the power of Satan at Damascus.

[3] *thirty years, though they might be more or even less.*—St. Luke's phrase (3. 23), 'is an elastic one, and will cover any age from 28 to 32' (C. H. Turner, *D.B.* i. 405).

[4] *fire too was kindled in the Jordan.*—J. expressly says that this was when Jesus went down to the water, and that the Spirit descended on Him when He had come up from it. The fire is not mentioned in Matt., save that two MSS. of the Old Latin say 'and when He was baptized a great light shone round from the water, so that all who had assembled were afraid'. Ephraem (A.D. 306-373) seems to quote a reference to it from the *Diatessaron* (Burkitt, *Ev. da Mepḥ.* ii. 114 f.); and Ishodad of Merv (*c.* A.D. 850) says that the *Diatessaron* has 'a great light shone, and the Jordan was surrounded by white clouds, and many troops of

Holy Spirit fluttered down upon Him[1] as it were a dove,[2] as the Apostles of this our Christ Himself have written.[3] 4. And we know that He did not come to the river as though He were in need of being baptized, or of the Holy Spirit coming upon him in the form of a dove, even as He did not endure being born and crucified as being in need of birth and crucifixion, but it was all on behalf of the race of men, which from the time of Adam had fallen under death and the deceit of the serpent,[4] each man acting ill by his own fault.[5] 5. For God, purposing that they who were born in freedom of choice and with authority over themselves, both angels and men, should do whatever He gave each the power to be able to do,

spiritual beings were seen singing praises in the air . . . and a scent of perfumes was wafted from thence' (Mrs. Gibson's Trans. 1911), but nothing of this is in the text of the *Diatessaron* that has come down to us. According to Epiphanius (*Panarion*, xxx. 13) the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* used by the Ebionites said that when Jesus came up out of the water 'forthwith a great light shone round about the place.' *Cf.* Sib. Orac. vii. 82-84.

[1] *fluttered down upon Him.*—Cf. § 8 and the next note.

[2] *as it were a dove.*—Ode 24 of the *Odes of Solomon* reads, 'The Dove fluttered over the Messiah, because He was her head, and she sang over Him and her voice was heard: and the inhabitants were afraid . . . For they who in their hearts were lifted up were deficient in wisdom, and so they were rejected, because the truth was not with them. For the Lord disclosed His way, and spread abroad His grace: and those who understood it, know His holiness.' It will be observed that the thought resembles J.'s, that the gifts of the Spirit were no longer for the Jews but only for believers in Christ. See lxxxvii. 2 note.

[3] *as the Apostles of this our Christ Himself have written.*—Observe that the phrase implies more than one document. If. J. knew of our canonical Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke this is sufficient, so long as we assume that the text in which he knew them was of that popular form which is found more consistently in Codex Bezae than in any other of our authorities.

[4] *the deceit of the serpent.*—See lxxix. 4; c. 4 *sq.*; cxii. 3; cxxiv. 3.

[5] *each of them acting ill by his own fault.*—*Cf.* cxxiv. 4; cxl. 4. Adam sinned first and every man since his time has also sinned. The doctrine of original sin is suggested, but is not actually stated.

made them such that if they were to choose what was well-pleasing to Him He would keep them immortal and free from punishment, but if they should do evil, He would punish each as He thought best. 6. Nor did His entry into Jerusalem seated upon an ass, as we have proved[1] was prophesied, produce in Him power to be Christ, but it supplied proof to men that He is the Christ, in the same way that in the time of John men required a proof, that they might know who the Christ was. 7. For when John was seated by the Jordan, and was preaching the baptism of repentance, and wearing only a leathern girdle and clothing of camel's hair, and eating nothing save locusts and wild honey, men suspected that He was the Christ. But unto them he himself cried aloud: *I am not the Christ, but the voice of one crying aloud; for there will come He that is stronger than I, whose sandals I am not worthy to carry.*[2] 8. And when Jesus came to the Jordan, being supposed to be the son of Joseph the carpenter,[3] and appearing *without form*[4] as the Scripture proclaimed, and supposed to be a carpenter[5]—for when He lived among men He wrought these works of a carpenter, ploughs and yokes,[6] teaching by them both the signs of

[1] *as we have proved.*—Zech. 9. 9 was adduced in liii. 3.

[2] An amalgam of Jno. 1. 20, 23; and Matt. 3. 11. There is nothing peculiar to Mk. 1. 7 or Lk. 3. 16.

[3] An amalgam of Lk. 3. 23 and Matt. 13. 55.

[4] *without form.*—See xiv. 8.

[5] Mk. 6. 3. Curiously Origen (*c. Cels.* vi. 36) denies that Jesus is ever called a carpenter 'in the Gospels current in the churches'.

[6] *ploughs and yokes.*—St. Thomas' *Gospel of the Childhood* (Greek Text A; xiii. 1) says that 'His father was a carpenter, and made at that time ploughs and yokes' and adds that Jesus miraculously lengthened a piece of wood for Joseph to make a bed; *cf.* the Arabic *Gospel of the Infancy* (xxxviii). J. finds *ploughs and yokes* symbolical, as we speak of driving a straight furrow, and of bearing the yoke of service.

righteousness and a life of energy—the Holy Spirit fluttered down on Him in the form of a dove, for men's sake, as I said before,[1] and a voice came at the same time out of the heavens. This also had been spoken by David, who, as in his own person, spoke what was hereafter to be said to Him by the Father: *Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee,*[2] meaning that His birth began for men, when they first knew that it was He.[3]

LXXXIX

1. Trypho said:[4] you are well aware that all our race expects the Christ, and we acknowledge that all the passages of Scripture, which you have cited, have been spoken of Him, and I say too that the name Jesus (Joshua), as given to the son of Nun, has urged me to be inclined to this opinion. 2. But we doubt whether the Christ was crucified with such dishonour, for he that is

[1] § 3.

[2] Ps. 2. 7 is quoted here and in ciii. 6 as though it were said at the Baptism. And so in Lk. 3. 23 according to Codex Bezae, the Old Latin, Clem. Alex., Augustine and some other 'Western' authorities. In ciii. 6 it is said to be so given in the Memoirs of the Apostles.

[3] *when they first knew that it was He.*—Not that He became Son of God at His baptism, but was first proved to be so to men; *cf.* § 6. So also Irenaeus, *Preaching,* § 43 'For God, the Son was (as) the beginning before the creation of the world; but for us (He was) then, when He appeared; and before that He was not for us, who knew Him not'. Methodius (*Banquet,* viii. 9) explains the words by, 'He willed that . . . He who was before unknown should be made known.'

[4] *Trypho said.*—T. (*a*) says that all Jews expect the Messiah; (*b*) grants that he and his companions accept the reference of the passages quoted by J. to the Messiah (though not that Jesus is that Messiah); (*c*) acknowledges that he is inclined to think this by J.'s reference to the name Jesus being foreshadowed in that of Joshua the son of Nun; (*d*) believes that the Messiah is indeed to be liable to sufferings, but T. can hardly credit that He should suffer on a cross. *Cf.* xxxii. 1; xxxix. 7; lxviii. 9; xcvi. 1.

crucified is said in the Law to be accursed,[1] so that with regard to this it is hardly possible that I can be persuaded. It is clear that the Scriptures proclaim that the Christ is liable to suffering, but whether it is to be by a form of suffering that is accursed by the Law, we desire to learn, if you can bring forward any proof on this point also.

3. If indeed Christ was not to suffer, said I to him, and if the prophets did not foretell that because of the iniquities of the people He should be led to death, and be dishonoured, and be scourged,[2] and be reckoned among the ungodly, and be led as a sheep to the slaughter, whose race, says the prophet, no one can declare, it were well to be astonished. But if this is the proper mark that distinguishes Him, and points Him out to all, how can we ourselves fail to be confident in our faith upon Him? And all who have considered the words of the prophets will say that it is He and no other, as soon as ever they hear that He was crucified.

XC

1. Instruct us therefore also out of the Scriptures, he said, that we too may believe you. For we know He suffers, and is to be brought as a sheep. But prove to us whether He must even be crucified, and die in so disgraceful and dishonourable a fashion, by the death that in the Law is accursed. For we cannot come so far as even to suppose any such thing.

2. You know, I said, that what the prophets said and did, as you have already acknowledged,[3] they revealed in

[1] *accursed.*— Deut. 21. 23; *cf.* Gal. 3. 13; J.'s real answer comes in XCV. 1-3 (see notes). Cf. Tert. *Adv. Marc.* III., 18 *sq.*

[2] *scourged.*—So Theodotion translates *nāgā'a* in Isa. 53. 4, for which the LXX has 'in trouble', and A.V., R.V. 'stricken'.

[3] lxviii. 6 *sq.*

parables and types, so that it is not easy for most of what they taught to be grasped by all, for they concealed in it the truth in such a way that those who seek must take trouble to find out and to learn.

They answered: We fully grant it.

3. Pray listen then, I said, to what comes next. For Moses was the first to exhibit this apparent curse[1] of Him by the typical acts he performed.

As for example? Trypho said.

4. When the people, I said, was waging war with Amalek, and the son of Nun, who was surnamed Joshua (Jesus), was the leader of the battle, Moses himself prayed to God, stretching his hands out on either side. But Hor and Aaron supported them the whole day long, lest he should be weary and they should fall down. For if any of this figure that imitated the form of a cross[2] had given way, the people, as is written in the writings of Moses, were defeated. But if he remained in this position, so long was Amalek overcome, and as he prevailed he prevailed by the cross. 5. Not because Moses prayed thus was the people therefore superior, but because the name of Jesus (Joshua)[3] being at the head of the battle, he (Moses) was making the figure of the cross. For who of you does not know that prayer uttered with lamentation and tears, and the prayer of one who sinks down with body bent

[1] *this apparent curse*.—See xcv. 2 note. *Cf.* xcvi. 1.

[2] *the form of a cross*.—cxi. 1. So *Barn.* xii. 2 *sq.* See also Tert., *Adv. Jud.* 10; Cyprian, *Test.* ii. 21. Perhaps Blandina (Euseb. *Ch. Hist.* V. i. 18) stretched her hands out in prayer to make the figure of a cross. The early Armenian version of the *Acts of Thecla* says that when a leopard and a lioness came against her she 'kept her arms stretched out in the likeness of one crucified on a tree', and so prayed. See also *Odes of Solomon,* xxvii; xlii. 1-3 (see Vacher Burch, *Expos. Times,* Feb. 1919, p. 232, and *Expositor,* June 1918, pp. 426-434).

[3] *the name of Jesus* (*Joshua*).—lxxv. 1 note.

and on his knees, especially propitiates God? But in this fashion[1] Moses never prayed nor any after him when seated on a stone. Now even the stone is symbolical of Christ, as I have shown.[2]

XCI

1. Further, God pointed out in another way the strength of the mystery of the cross when He said by Moses in the blessing wherewith He blessed Joseph: *Of the blessing of the Lord is his land, of the seasons of heaven and its dews, and of the abyss of streams from below—and fruits in season from the course of the sun; and of the conjunctions of months, and of the top of ancient mountains, and of the top of hills, and of perennial streams, and of fruits of a land of plenty. And let the things accepted of Him who appeared in the bush come on the head of Joseph and on his pate. Glorified among his brethren as first-born; as of a bull is his glory; his horns are the horns of an unicorn; with them shall he push nations together even at the very end of the earth.*[3]
2. For no one could say or prove that the horns of a unicorn are of any other matter or form than of the figure which represents a cross. For the one piece of wood stands upright, from which the upper part is raised up into a horn, when the other piece of wood is fitted on, and the ends seem like horns joined to that one horn. And the piece fixed in the middle[4] itself on which they that

[1] *in this fashion.*—Moses abandoned on this occasion the usual manner of prayer in order to show in type the power of the cross.
[2] lxxvi. 1 note.
[3] Deut. 33. 13-17. Origen (*Hom. Num.* xvi. 6) says 'unicorn' in Num. 23. 22 refers first to Christ (the one horn means Christ's one kingdom), and secondly to the spiritual Israel, who share His glory.
[4] *the piece fixed in the middle,* to support the weight of the

are crucified are upborne also projects like a horn, and itself looks like a horn when fashioned together and fixed in with the other horns. 3. And the words: *with them he shall push nations together even at the very end of the earth* are evidence of what has now taken place in all nations. For being pushed by a horn, that is to say, being made contrite, men of all nations[1] have by means of this mystery turned to the worship of God from their vain idols and demons,[2] while to unbelievers the same sign is made known for their destruction and condemnation. Even as when the people had come forth from Egypt Amalek was defeated, and Israel was conqueror, by the type of the stretching forth of the hands of Moses, and of the naming of the son of Nun by the name of Jesus (Joshua). 4. Further,[3] the provision made against the serpents that bit Israel was a type and a sign. And the setting of it up was clearly made for the salvation of those that believe that it was this; namely, that it was intended to proclaim that by Him who was to be crucified death was to come to the serpent, but salvation to them that are bitten by it, and flee for refuge to Him who sent His crucified Son into the world. For the spirit of prophecy speaking by Moses did not teach us to believe on a serpent, since it declares that it was cursed in the beginning by God, and he informs us in Isaiah that it will be slain as an enemy by the great sword, which is Christ.[4]

body. This seems to be mentioned only by Christian authors. Tert. (*Adv. Marc.* iii. 18; *Adv. Jud.* 10), while agreeing generally with J.'s account, seems to compare the piece to the single horn of a unicorn in the centre of its forehead.

[1] *men of all nations.*—cxvii. 4 note.

[2] *from their vain idols and demons.*—lv. 2 note.

[3] *Further.*—The brazen serpent is dealt with again in xciv. 1.

[4] *the great sword which is Christ.*—Isa. 27. 1. So also c. 4; cxii. 2.

XCII

1. If therefore one were not, with God's great grace helping him, to understand the words and actions of the prophets, it would be of no benefit to him to seem to relate their sayings or their actions, when he has no reason to give for them. And will not those words and actions seem right contemptible to most people if they are told by those who do not understand them? 2. For suppose that any one desires to inquire of you—since Enoch and Noah, together with their children and any others of the same kind, pleased God without either being circumcised or keeping the sabbath—what was the reason[1] that after so many generations God thought it well that by other leaders and a fresh legislation, those who lived from Abraham till Moses should be justified by circumcision, and those who were after Moses both by circumcision and by the other commandments, namely, Sabbath sacrifices and ashes and offerings? What reasonable answer can you give, unless, as I have already said, you prove that it was because God, as foreknowing everything, knew that your people would deserve to be cast out from Jerusalem, and none of them be allowed to enter there?[2] 3. For by no other possible way are you recognized, as I have already said,[3] save by the circumcision in your flesh. For not even to Abraham was witness borne by God that he was righteous because of his circumcision, but because of his faith. For before he was circumcised it was thus said of him : *and Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteous-*

[1] *what was the reason.*—See xvi. 2; xix. 2 note.

[2] *no one be allowed to enter there.*—So Hadrian ordered, A.D. 135. The prohibition seems to have been in force in Eusebius' time. *Ch. Hist.* IV. vi. 3.

[3] xvi. 2.

ness.[1] 4. We also therefore, believing God through Christ in a state of uncircumcision of our flesh, and yet having a circumcision which is of advantage to us who possess it, namely, circumcision of the heart, hope that we appear righteous and well-pleasing to God, since we have already received testimony from Him by the words of the prophets. But your being commanded to keep the sabbath and to make offerings, and being granted by the Lord a place in which the name of God was to be invoked, was for fear lest, as has been said, you should worship idols and forget God, and so become irreligious and godless, as you appear always to have been. 5. And that for these reasons God appointed His commands concerning sabbaths and offerings, has already been shown by me in what I have said. But because of those who have come to-day I think it well to repeat it almost all again. For except this be the reason (to avoid idolatry) the accusation will be brought against God that He neither has foreknowledge, nor teaches all men to know and practise the same righteous ordinances, for plainly there were many generations of men before Moses. Hence that will be no valid saying which says that *God is true and righteous and all His ways are judgments, and there is no iniquity in Him.*[2] 6. But since the word is true, so God ever wishes you not to be as you are now, without understanding and lovers of yourselves, that you may be saved with Christ,[3] who

[1] Gen. 15. 6; *cf.* Gal. 3. 6.

[2] An amalgam of Deut. 32. 4; Pss. 25. 10; 92. 15.

[3] *saved with Christ.*—'With', here, 'in union with', almost 'by the help of'; *cf.* Acts 13. 17. Perhaps strictly, 'together with', J. regarding Christ as 'saved' (cii. 7), 'made victorious', in agreement with the Heb. of Zech. 9. 9; *cf.* the *Odes of Solomon*, viii. 25 'and they that are saved in Him that was saved'. But this is improbable in view of J.'s dependence on the LXX, which has 'saving', our 'bringing salvation'.

pleased God and has been borne testimony to, as I said before, when I brought forward my proof from the holy words of the prophets.[1]

XCIII

1. For He exhibits among every race of men the things that are righteous at all times and in all places,[2] and every race is aware that adultery is evil, and fornication, and murder, and all suchlike things. And although all practise them, yet, nevertheless, they are not set free from knowing they do wrong when they practise them, with the exception of such as, possessed by an unclean spirit and corrupted by early education and bad customs and evil laws, have lost their natural thoughts, or rather have quenched them or held them down. 2. For we may see even such persons not wishing to endure the same sufferings that they inflict on others, and with a conscience opposed to themselves reproach others for the very things that they themselves perform. Wherefore it seems to me that it was well said by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that all righteousness and piety are fulfilled in two commandments, which are these: *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy might, and thy neighbour as thyself.*[3] For he who loves God with all his heart and all his might,

[1] *e.g.* xxi; *cf.* cxxxix. 4.

[2] In this chapter J. continues his argument against the Jews, saying, first, that all men, including Gentiles, have moral knowledge, however much they may act contrary to that knowledge, and, secondly (§ 4), that the Jews have always been openly wicked, and still curse the followers of Christ (*cf.* xvi. 4 note). They also try to prove that He was crucified as accursed (lxxxix. 2, note), and are captious (§ 5) when they have an opportunity of learning the truth.

[3] Matt. 22. 37-39.

being full of a mind that is turned to God, will honour no other as God. Yet that Angel will he honour, as God would have him do, who is beloved by the Lord and God Himself. And he that loveth his neighbour as himself will desire for him the good that he desires for himself; and no one will desire for himself what is evil. 3. He therefore that loves his neighbour will both pray and work for that to happen to his neighbour as for himself. Now a man's neighbour is none else than that living and reasonable creature of like passions with himself, even a man. All righteousness therefore having been divided into two parts, towards God and men, whosoever, the word says, loves the Lord God with all his heart, and with all his might, and his neighbour as himself, would of a truth be righteous. 4. But, as for you, you have never shown yourselves as possessing friendship or love, either towards God, or towards the prophets, or towards one another, but, as is plain, are found to be always idolators and murderers of the righteous, so that you even laid your hands upon Christ Himself, and still stay on in your wickedness, cursing even them who prove that He who was crucified by you is the Christ. And, besides, you deem it right to prove that He has been crucified as an enemy of God and accursed, which is the result of your unreasonable opinion. 5. For though you have the opportunity of learning from the signs wrought by Moses[1] that it is He, you will not have it, and, further, supposing that we can be reduced to silence, you put whatever questions come into your mind, and you are at a loss what to say whenever you meet with a keen Christian.

[1] *the signs wrought by Moses.*—Already partly considered in xc. 3-5; xci. 4.

XCIV

1. For tell me, was it not God who gave commandment by Moses not to make any image at all or likeness, either of the things that are in heaven above, or of those that are on earth, yet He Himself in the wilderness caused that the brazen serpent[1] should be made by Moses, and set it as a sign, by which sign they that were bitten by serpents were healed, and yet he is guilty of any iniquity? 2. For, as I have already said, by this He proclaimed a mystery, by which He proclaimed that He would destroy the power of the serpent, who caused the transgression to be made by Adam, but (bring) salvation to them that believe on Him who was by this sign, namely, the cross,[2] to be put to death, from the bites of the serpent, namely, evil deeds, idolatries, and other iniquities. 3. For if this be not so understood, tell me a reason why Moses set up the brazen serpent on the 'sign', and commanded them that were being bitten to look upon it, and they that were bitten were healed, and that although he himself had given command to make no likeness of anything at all.

4. Then another of those who had come on the second day said: You are right. We have no reason to give. For I myself have often asked our teachers about this,

[1] *the brazen serpent.*—Num. 21. 8 *sq.* Considered in xci. 4 from a different point of view. Here J.'s argument is that (*a*) although no image was to be made, yet one of a serpent—an accursed beast—was made by God's order, and through it blessing came to the people (*cf.* cxii. 1); so (*b*) through Christ, though He was made a curse (because hanged on a tree), came salvation. *Cf. Barn.* xii. 5-7.

[2] *through this sign, namely, the cross.*—J. supposes very naturally that the serpent was hung on a pole which was cruciform. So, less naturally, he says that the blood on the door of the Israelites at the first passover was in the form of a cross. See cxi. 4.

and none gave me any reply.[1] So say what you will, for we are paying heed to you as you reveal the mystery of things that cause even the precepts of the prophets to be attacked.[2]

5. I said, Just as God commanded the sign to be given by the brazen serpent, and yet is guiltless, so even in the Law does a curse lie against men who are crucified. Yet a curse does not lie any longer against the Christ of God, for by Him He saves all them that have done deeds that deserve a curse.

XCV

1. For every race of men will be found to be under the curse according to the Law of Moses. For *cursed,* it is said, *is every one who remaineth not in all the things that are written in the book of the Law, to do them.*[3] And no one ever did all exactly (not even you will dare deny this), but some have kept the commands more, and some less, than others. But if they who are under this Law are plainly under a curse, because they have not kept everything, how much more will all the Gentiles plainly be under a curse, as serving idols, and corrupting boys, with all other abominations. 2. If, therefore, the Father of the universe purposed that His

[1] *and none gave me any reply.*—Yet in the *Mechilta* (which may be as old as the second century) on Ex. 17. 9 the reason given is that as long as Moses made the serpent the Israelites were looking on, and believing on Him who gave Moses the order to make it, and the Holy One, blessed be He, wrought healing for them. *Cf.* also Mishna, *Rosh ha Shanah* III. 8. See also Wisd. 16. 7.

[2] *to be attacked.*—As J. had said in xcii. 1 would be the case.

[3] Deut. 27. 26; *cf.* Gal. 3. 10. For J.'s argument *cf.* R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanos (*c.* A.D. 90-130) 'If indeed the Holy One, blessed be He, had entered into judgment with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, they could not have stood before Him because of His reproof' (T. B. *Arakin* 17a).

own Christ should receive on Himself[1] the curses of all, on behalf of men of every race, knowing that He would raise Him up after being crucified and dying, why do you speak of Him who endured the suffering of these things in accordance with the purpose of the Father as though He was accursed, and do not rather lament for yourselves? For although even His Father Himself moved Him to suffer these things on behalf of the human race, you did not do this (*i.e.*, crucify Him) as ministering to the mind of God. Nor again when you killed the prophets were you exercising piety. 3. And let none of you say: If the Father wished Him to suffer these things, in order that by His stripes the human race should be healed,[2] we did no wrong.[3] If then when you repent for your sinful actions, and recognize that this Man is the Christ, and keep His commandments, and will say this (*i.e.*, these words of Isaiah), I have already told you[4] that you shall have remission of your sins. 4. But if you curse[5] both Him Himself and them

[1] *should receive on Himself.*—J. believed in a kind of vicarious atonement; *cf.* xl. 4. J.'s train of thought can be no other than this: Crucifixion denotes curse, condemnation; nothing of the sort could touch Christ, the Son of God, the Holy One: in reference to Himself, this was only in appearance (xc. 3). The import of this curse concerned mankind, who were guilty of violating the law, and were therefore involved in condemnation. In order to free mankind from this condemnation, which rested upon them, Christ took it upon Himself. The *for*, in this case, passes naturally over to the *instead*' (Neander, *History of the Christian Religion*, Bohn's edition, ii. 385). Hagenbach, *History of Christian Doctrines* 1880, i. 259 *sq.* gives other references.

[2] Isa. 53. 5.

[3] *we did no wrong.*—This argument is commonly used still, and is stated clearly and fully in the *Chizzuk Emunah*, i. 47 and ii. 24. In reality the dilemma is the same as that of the existence of sin, and the commission of any act of sin. See *Christian Evidences for Jewish People*, § 289. J. replies to the same difficulty at length in cii. 3 *sq.*

[4] *I have already told you.*—xliv. 4; xlvii. 2.

[5] *if you curse.*—xvi. 4 note.

that believe upon Him, and, whensoever you have power, slay them, will not, for certain, requital be demanded from you for having laid your hands on Him, as from persons who are unrighteous and sinners and indeed altogether hard of heart and lacking intelligence?

XCVI

1. Further, what is said in the Law, *Cursed is every one which hangeth on a tree,*[1] strengthens our hope in its dependence on the crucified Christ, not because He who has been crucified is accursed of God, but because God foretold what would be done by all of you and such as you, when you did not know that this is He who was before all things and the eternal priest of God, and King, and Christ.

2. Now this you can see taking place with your own eyes. For you curse[2] in your synagogues all who have become Christians through Him. And the other nations, who make the curse effective, are slaying them who only acknowledge that they are Christians; to all of whom we say: *Ye are our brethren,*[3] recognize therefore rather the truth of God. But when neither they nor you obey us, but do your utmost that we should deny the name of Christ, we prefer rather to be put to death, and we endure it, being assured that all the good things which God hath promised us by Christ will He requite to us. 3. And in addition to all this we pray for you[4] that you

[1] Deut. 21. 23; *cf.* Gal. 3. 13. See lxxxix. 2. The LXX and Hebrew add 'of God' after 'cursed'. J.'s explanation suggests that he also read this, giving the true sense of the Hebrew. Probably a copyist omitted it, recalling Gal. 3. 13 (see my commentary in the *C. G. T.*).

[2] *curse in your synagogues.*—xvi. 4 note.

[3] Isa. 66. 5.

[4] *we pray for you.*—xxxv. 8.

may receive mercy at Christ's hands. For He taught us to pray even for our enemies, saying: *Be ye kind and full of pity, as also is your heavenly Father.* For we see also that the Almighty God is kind and full of pity, *making His sun arise on unthankful and righteous, and giving rain on holy and evil,*[1] though He has taught us that He will also judge them all.

XCVII

1. Further, even the fact that Moses the Prophet remained in this attitude till evening,[2] while his hands were being held up by Aaron and Hur, was not without purpose. For the Lord too remained on the tree almost until evening, and towards evening did they bury Him. Then He arose on the third day. This had been expressed by David in the following words: *With my voice did I cry unto the Lord, and He heard me out of His holy mountain. I slept and fell asleep; I awaked, because the Lord aided me.*[3] 2. And by Isaiah likewise had it thus been spoken concerning Him, of the way that He was to die: *I stretched out My hands unto a people disobedient and gainsaying, to them that walk in a way that is not good.*[4] And that He was to rise, Isaiah himself has said: *His burial has been taken out of the midst,*[5] and: *I will give the rich instead of his death.*[6] 3. And

[1] *Be ye kind . . . on holy and evil.*—An amalgam of Lk. 6. 35 *sq.* Matt. 5. 45.
[2] Ex. 17. 12. *Cf.* xc. 4.
[3] Ps. 3. 4 *sq.*
[4] Isa. 65. 2; *cf.* xxiv. 4.
[5] Isa. 57. 2. So also cxviii. 1. But in xvi. 5 and I *Apol.* xlviii. 6 the LXX is followed, 'His tomb shall be in peace, he is taken out of the midst'. Both forms differ from the Heb., 'He entereth into peace; they rest in their beds' (i.e., tombs).
[6] Isa. 53. 9.

again David[1] said in another passage, in the twenty-first Psalm, with reference to the passion and the cross in mystical parable, *They dug through my hands and my feet, they counted up all my bones; they considered and gazed upon me. They divided for themselves my garments, and over my robe did they cast lots.* For when they crucified Him, by fixing nails[2] did they dig through His hands and His feet, and they that crucified Him divided for themselves His garments, each throwing by casting lots, for what he wished to choose. 4. And ye say that this very Psalm was not spoken of Christ,[3] blind as you are to everything, and without understanding that no one in your race who was called king[4] ever had his feet and hands dug through, while he was alive, and died by this way of mystery, namely crucifixion, save this Jesus only.

XCVIII

1. Let me cite the whole Psalm, that you may hear His piety towards His Father, and how He refers everything to Him, when He asks even to be saved by Him from this death, declaring withal in the Psalm what

[1] *David.*—From here to cvi. 4 J. expounds Ps. 22. Was this originally an expository sermon delivered on a different occasion, and placed here with other memoranda bearing on the general subject? See Introd., p. xxiv.

[2] *fixing nails.*—The express mention of 'nails' and the word used for 'lots' suggests that J. here used the *Gospel of Peter* (§§ 4, 6), a fragment of which was discovered in 1884. But M. R. James thinks the use doubtful. Stanton (*The Gospels as Historical Documents*, i. 100-121) thinks that both used a document professing to be *Acts of Pilate*, of which the extant *Acts of Pilate* also made use. See cviii. 2.

[3] *that this very Psalm was not spoken of Christ.*—Yet it is expounded homiletically of the sufferings of Messiah in the *Yalqut* on Isaiah 60. 1, § 499 (359).

[4] *king.*—The MS. adds 'Christ', probably a mere gloss. Tert. has the same argument (*Adv. Marc.* iii. 19; *Adv. Jud.* 10).

kind of men they were who were gathered together against Him, and proving that He indeed became a man who had a share in sufferings.[1] 2. It runs thus: *O God, my God, regard me. Why didst Thou forsake me? Far from my salvation are the words of my transgressions. My God, I will cry unto Thee by day and Thou wilt not hear, and by night, and that not for lack of my understanding.*[2] *But thou dwellest in the sanctuary, Thou praise of Israel. On Thee did our fathers hope; they hoped and Thou didst rescue them. Unto Thee they cried, and were saved, upon Thee they hoped and were not put to shame.* 3. *But I am worm and not man, a reproach of men, and the people's scorn. All that gazed upon me mocked me, and spake with their lips, and wagged their heads; He hoped on the Lord; let Him rescue him; let Him save him, because He desires him! For Thou art He who drew me forth from the belly, my hope from my mother's breasts. On Thee was I cast from the womb, from my mother's belly Thou art my God. Depart not from me, for trouble is nigh, for there is none that helpeth me.* 4. *Many calves have surrounded me, fat bulls have compassed me about. They have opened their mouth upon me, as a lion when he seizes (his prey) and roars. As water were all my bones poured forth and scattered. My heart became like melting wax in the midst of my belly. My strength was dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue has cleaved to my throat, and Thou didst bring me down into the dust of death. For many dogs surrounded me, an assembly of evildoers compassed me about. They dug through my hands and*

[1] *who had a share in sufferings.*—*cf.* ciii. 8. The phrase is stronger than the common 'liable to suffering' (xcix. 2).

[2] *for lack of my understanding.*—See xcix. 3. See F. W. Mozley, *The Psalter of the Church*, 1905, p. 39.

my feet, they counted all my bones. They themselves too considered and gazed upon me. 5. *They divided my garments for themselves, and over my clothing did they cast lots. But as for Thee, O Lord, do not remove Thy help far from me; attend unto supporting me. Rescue my life from the sword, and my only-begotten from the paw of the dog. Save me from the mouth of the lion, and my lowliness from the horns of the unicorns. I will declare Thy name to my brethren; in the midst of the church will I sing hymns to Thee. Ye that fear the Lord, praise Him; all ye seed of Jacob, glorify Him; let all the seed of Israel be in fear of Him.*[1]

XCIX

1. And when I had said this I continued: I will thus prove to you therefore that the whole Psalm has been spoken of Christ, by expounding it again. When then it says at once: *O God, my God, regard me; why didst Thou forsake me?* this foretold of old what was to be said in the time of Christ.[2] For when He was crucified He said: *O God, O God, why didst Thou forsake me?*[3] 2. And the words that follow: *Far from my salvation are the words of my transgressions. O my God, I will cry unto Thee by day and Thou wilt not hear, and by night, and not for lack of my understanding,*[4] were spoken in accordance with the things that He was about to do. For on the day on which He was to be crucified,[5]

[1] Ps. 22. 1-23.

[2] *in the time of Christ.*— ἐπὶ χριστοῦ Arch reads ὑπό 'by', because the words and actions of Christ are adduced.

[3] Matt. 27. 46; Mk. 15. 34.

[4] *for lack of my understanding.*—xcviii. 2 note.

[5] *the day on which He was to be crucified.*—Oesterley argues from this and cxi. 3 that Justin held that the Last Supper took place *the day before* the Passover (*The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*, 1925, p. 191).

He took with Him three of His disciples into the mount called the Mount of Olives, situated right opposite to the Temple in Jerusalem, and prayed, saying: *Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass away from me.* And afterwards He says in His prayer: *Not as I desire, but as Thou wilt,* making it plain by these words that He had become a man really liable to suffering.[1] 3. But that none should say: He did not know then that He was to suffer, He at once brings forward in the Psalm: *and not for lack of my understanding.* In the same way that it was not either for lack of understanding on God's part[2] that He asked Adam where he was, or Cain where Abel was, but with the object that He might convince each what kind of person He was, and that the knowledge of all things should come to us through the (divine) record. So He (*i.e.,* Christ) declared that it was not for His own lack of understanding but for that of those who supposed He was not Christ Himself, but who thought that they would put Him to death, and that He would remain in Hades as an ordinary man.

C

1. Now the following expression: *But Thou dwellest in the sanctuary, O Praise of Israel,*[3] signified that He was

[1] *a man really liable to suffering,* against Docetism, ciii. 8 note.

[2] *lack of understanding on God's part.*— God's question to Adam is discussed by Philo, *Leg. alleg.* III. xvii; *Quod. deter.* xvii. So *Bresh. R.* on Gen. 3. 9 'And the LORD God called to the man and said, How hast thou changed! Yesterday in my mind, to-day in the serpent's! Yesterday from world end to world end, to-day in the midst of the trees of the garden.'

[3] *O Praise of Israel,* ὁ ἔπαινος τοῦ Ἰ. In the LXX ὁ ἔπαινος Ἰ. which is probably the original text of J., who will then have treated 'Israel' as a name for Christ. See § 4; xxxiv. 6 note; lxxv. 2.

to do something worthy of praise and admiration, being about to rise on the third day after being crucified, which He has received from His Father.[1] For I have shown that Christ is called both Jacob[2] and Israel; and I have shown that not only in the Blessing of both Jacob and Judah have the things concerning Him been proclaimed in a mystery,[3] but also in the Gospel[4] He has been recorded as saying: *All things have been delivered to me by the Father, and no one knoweth the Father save the Son, nor any the Son save the Father, and they to whom the Son shall have revealed Him.*[5] 2. He revealed therefore to us all that we have understood from the Scriptures by His grace, having come to know Him as First-born of God and before all created things,[6] and son of the patriarchs, since He became incarnate by the Virgin who was of their race, and He endured becoming a man without form and honour, and liable to suffering.

3. Wherefore He said in His speeches, when He was discoursing about His being about to suffer, that: *The Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the Pharisees and Scribes, and be crucified, and rise on*

[1] The wording recalls Jno. 10. 18, which also refers to our Lord's death and resurrection.

[2] xxxvi. 2, 4; lxxv. 2; *cf.* cxiv. 2.

[3] lii. 2; liv. 2; xci. 1-3.

[4] *in the Gospel.*—The singular is found elsewhere in the *Dialogue* only in x. 2 (see note), where T. employs it in accordance with Jewish usage. For the plural see I *Apol.* lxvi. 3, where J. says the *apomnemoneumata* (§ 4 note) of the apostles are called 'Gospels'.

[5] See Matt. 11. 27; Lk. 10. 22. J.'s order of the clauses is that of the *Diatessaron* and some other 'western' authorities.

[6] *as First-born of God and before all created things.*—J. probably alludes to the first word of Gen. 1. 1, *breshith* ('in the Beginning'), which Christians interpreted of Christ, as the Jews interpreted it of the Law. *Cf.* Col. 1, 15 notes in *C. G. T.*, Irenaeus, *Preaching*, § 43, 'The Son (was) in the beginning; God created then the heaven and the earth'.

the third day.[1] He called Himself Son of man[2] for this reason, either from His birth by a virgin, who was, as I said,[3] of the race of David and Jacob and Isaac and Abraham, or because Adam[4] himself is father even of those that have been enumerated, from whom Mary traces her descent. For we also know that the progenitors of females are fathers of the children that are born to their daughters. For also one of His disciples,[5] called Simon aforetime, when He recognized Him as Son of God, even Christ, according to the revelation of His Father, He surnamed Peter. 4. And finding Him written down in the Memoirs of His apostles[6] as Son of God and calling Him Son, we have understood that He is so, and also that He came forth before all things that were made of the Father by His power and will. He also is termed both Wisdom[7]

[1] The text does not agree quite verbally with any of the Synoptists, Matt. 16. 21; Mk. 8. 31; Lk. 9. 22; *cf.* lxxvii. 7.

[2] *Son of man.*—J. attributes this title to one of two facts, (*a*) Jesus' birth from the virgin who was descended from the line of David, going back to Abraham (to whom the world-wide promise was given). Observe that J. assumes the Davidic origin of Mary, which is only implied in the Gospels. *Cf.* the *Gospel of James*, § 10.

(*b*)His being a descendant of Adam, the father of all women.

[3] *as I said.*—xxiii. 3; xliii. 1.

[4] *Adam.*—The MS. has 'Abraham', which is improbable; *cf.* cxxiv. 3. Otto prefers to read 'or because Abraham was the father of Him and of those that have been enumerated.'

[5] *for also one of His disciples.*—At this point J. returns to the main subject of the chapter, the Divine Nature of Him who is called Israel.

[6] *the Memoirs of His apostles.*—The Memoirs are mentioned thirteen times in the *Dialogue*, including the statements that they are by Apostles and those who followed them (ciii. 7), and Peter's Memoirs (cvi. 3, which=Mk. 3, 16, 17). Also we find 'the Apostles . . . . have written' (lxxxviii. 3). It is generally accepted that J. means by the phrase the Synoptic Gospels, and probably also the Fourth Gospel. cv. 1 note. See Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, 1903, i. 77-91.

[7] *Wisdom.*—lxi. 1 note.

and Day[1] and Dayspring[2] and Sword[3] and Stone[4] and Rod[5] and Jacob[6] and Israel[7] in this fashion or in that, in the words of the Prophets,[8] and has become man by the Virgin, in order that by the same way[9] in which the disobedience caused by the serpent took its beginning, by this way should it also take its destruction. 5. For Eve, being a virgin and uncorrupt, conceived the word spoken of the serpent,[10] and brought forth disobedience and death.[11] But Mary the Virgin receiving faith and grace, when the angel Gabriel brought her the good news that *the Spirit of the Lord should come upon her, and the power of the Highest should overshadow her, wherefore also that Holy Thing that is born of her is Son of God,* answered, *Be it unto me according to Thy word.*[12] 6. And by her has He been born, about whom we have proved so many Scriptures have been spoken, by means of whom God destroys both the serpent and those angels and men that became like it, but for them that repent of their evil deeds, and believe on Him, does He work deliverance from death.

[1] *Day.*—Perhaps derived from Ps. 118. 24, 'This is the Day which the LORD hath made'. Though used of Christ by J. only here, yet it is so applied by Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* VI. xvi. 145 end).

[2] *Dayspring,* Zech. 6. 12; cxxi. 2; cxxvi. 1; cvi. 4.

[3] *Sword.*—xci. 4 note.

[4] *Stone.*—lxxvi. 1 note.

[5] *Rod.*—Isa. 11. 1; also cxxvi. 1.

[6] *Jacob.*—xxxvi. 4 note.

[7] *Israel* § 1 note.

[8] *the Prophets.*—These are mentioned by name in cxxvi. 1.

[9] *by the same way.*—For the correspondence of the Virgin to Eve, see more fully in Iren. III. xxxii. 1 (xxii. 4); and V. xix. 1. *Cf.* Tert. *De carne Chr.* 17. This is one of the passages which Preuschen thought pointed to a third century date. See Introd., p. xii.

[10] *the serpent.*—lxxxviii. 4 note.

[11] *conceived . . . and brought forth . . . death.*—Jas. 1. 15.

[12] Lk. 1. 26, 35. *Cf.* also *Protev. James* xi. 2 *sq.*

CI

1. Now the verses of the Psalm that follow are these: *On thee our fathers hoped; they hoped, and Thou didst rescue them. Unto Thee they cried and were saved; on Thee they hoped, and were not put to shame. But I am worm and not man, the reproach of men and the people's scorn.* They show that He acknowledges as fathers[1] them that set their hope on God and were saved by Him, persons who also were fathers of the Virgin by whom He became man and was born, while He Himself also states that He will be saved by the same God, and not as boasting that He does anything by His own counsel or might. 2. For also He did the same on earth. When one said to Him, *Good Teacher,* He answered: *Why callest thou Me good? One is good, my Father who is in heaven.*[2] Now His expression *I am worm and not man, a reproach of men and the people's scorn,* stated beforehand what plainly took place and happened to Him. For He is everywhere *a reproach* to us (that is) to the men who believe on Him, and *the people's scorn* because He was scorned by your people, and dishonoured, and suffered those things which you inflicted on Him. 3. And the words that follow—*All who beheld me mocked me, and spake with their lips, and wagged their head; He hoped on the Lord, let Him rescue him, let him save him, for He desires him*—likewise foretold that these very things would happen to Him. For they that beheld Him crucified wagged each their heads and twisted their lips,

[1] *He acknowledges as fathers.*—Not carnal but spiritual relationship is all-important.

[2] An inexact quotation from the Gospels (Matt. 19. 16 *sq.*; Mk. 10. 17 *sq.*; Lk. 18. 18 *sq.*). The form in I *Apol.* xvi. 7 is 'None is good save God only, who created all'.

and curling their nostrils to each other[1] said in jest all that is written in the Memoirs of the Apostles :[2] *Son of God he called himself ! Let him come down and walk ! Let God save him !*[3]

CII

1. The following words are, *My hope from my mother's breasts ! On Thee was I cast from the womb, from my mother's belly Thou art my God, for there is none that helpeth me. Many calves surrounded me, fat bulls compassed me about. They opened their mouths upon me, like a lion seizing (its prey) and roaring. All my bones were poured out like water, and were scattered. My heart became as it were melting wax in the midst of my belly. My might was dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue has cleaved to my throat.* This was a prediction of what has taken place. 2. So with the phrase : my hope *from my mother's breasts.* For directly He was born in Bethlehem, as I have already said,[4] Herod the King learned from the Wise Men from Arabia all about Him, and plotted to slay Him; and Joseph, in accordance with the command of God, took Him and Mary, and went off to Egypt. For the Father had decided that He whom He had begotten should be put to death only after becoming a full-grown man and preaching the message received from Him.[5]

[1] *and twisted their lips, and curling their nostrils to each other.*—Vivid adaptations of the phrases just quoted from the LXX.

[2] *the Memoirs of the Apostles.*—c. 4 note.

[3] A free quotation, with the addition 'and walk' (Matt. 27. 40, 42; Mk. 15. 30-32; Lk. 23. 35, 37).

[4] *as I have already said.*—lxxviii. 1 *sq.*

[5] *For only . . . to death.*—The Greek is involved, and Arch. thinks it means that the pre-existent Word announced His own coming. But the rendering given above is preferable.

3. But if any saith to us: Could not then God rather have killed Herod?[1] I would forestall him and say: Aye, could not God in the beginning have removed even the serpent from existence, and not have said: *And enmity will I set between it and the woman, and its seed and her seed?*[2] And could He not have made a multitude of men in a moment? 4. But, as He knew was good, He made both angels and men possessed of freewill for the practice of righteousness, and He determined periods to last so long as He knew that it was good that they should have this freewill. And likewise because He knew that it was good, He wrought both universal and particular judgments, freewill however being kept intact. For this reason the Word says, at the foundation of the tower (of Babel), and at the confusion and change of tongues, the following words: *And God said: Behold, all are one race, and have one tongue, and this have they begun to do. And now there will not fail them anything that they undertake to do.*[3]

5. And the saying: *My strength was dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue hath cleaved to my throat,* was likewise a prediction of what was to be done by Him in accordance with the will of the Father. For the power of His mighty word, whereby He always rebuked the Pharisees and Sadducees, and in fact all the teachers in your race who disputed with Him, was held in check like a full, strong, fountain whose water was turned back, when He kept silence and was no longer willing to answer anyone anything in the presence of Pilate,

[1] *Could not then God rather kill Herod?*—See xcv. 3 note. J. affirms that freewill belongs to the original constitution of men and angels, and is good, and is never infringed upon by God's judgements. It is also implied in God's words, Gen. 11. 6.

[2] Gen. 3. 15.

[3] Gen. 11. 6.

as has been made plain in the Memoirs of His Apostles, in order that that which was spoken by Isaiah should bear fruit in action, where it is said: *The Lord giveth me a tongue to know when I must say a word.*[1]

6. Further, His saying, *My God art Thou; depart not from me,* is that of one who taught that all must hope on God who made all things, and also seek salvation and help from Him alone, and not suppose, as most men, that they can be saved because of race or wealth or strength or wisdom. For this is the kind of thing that you always did, for you once made the calf, and always showed yourselves ungrateful, and slayers of the righteous, and puffed up with pride because of your race. 7. For if the Son of God plainly says that it is not because He is a son, nor because He is strong, nor because He is wise, that He can be saved, but that, in addition to being without sin (as Isaiah says that He has not sinned even in word, *for no iniquity did He commit, nor guile with His mouth*)[2] He cannot be saved without God,[3] how can you think that you or others who are looking forward to being saved without this hope, are not deceiving yourselves?

CIII

1. Now the words of the Psalm that come next are, *For trouble is at hand; for there is none that helpeth me. Many calves surrounded me, fat bulls compassed me about; they opened their mouth upon me like a lion seizing (its prey) and roaring; all my bones were poured out like water, and were scattered.* These were

[1] Isa. 50. 4.
[2] Isa. 53. 9.
[3] *He cannot be saved without God,* upon whom He 'hoped'. *Ps.* 22. 9.—See also xcii. 5 note.

likewise a prediction of what happened to Him. For on that night when the men of your people who were sent by the Pharisees and scribes, as their teaching[1] bade them do, came upon Him from the Mount[2] of Olives, they surrounded Him, and therefore were called by the word *calves,* creatures with horns[3] and prematurely destructive. 2. And the phrase, *Fat bulls compassed me about,* foretold those very persons who acted like the calves, when He was brought unto your teachers. And these the word called *bulls,* because we know that the bulls are the cause of there being calves. As then the bulls are the fathers of the calves, so your teachers were the cause that their children went out into the Mount of Olives, and took and brought Him to them. And the phrase, *For there is none to help,* also declares what took place. For there was no helper, no, not a single man, to help Him as one who was sinless. 3. And *They opened their mouth against me, as a lion roaring,* means the king of the Jews at that time, himself called Herod, successor of that Herod who, when He was born, slew all the boys that were born in Bethlehem at that time, because he imagined that He of whom the Wise Men from Arabia had told him would certainly be among them. For he knew not the purpose of Him who is stronger than all, that He had commanded Joseph and Mary to take the Child and depart into Egypt, and be there until it should be revealed to them again that they should return into their own country. And there they

[1] *their teaching.*—So the MS. and Otto. Their action agreed with their doctrine; 'Your teachers were the cause' (§ 2) Arch. accepts Thirlby's weak emendation, 'and the teachers'; *cf.* cii. 5.

[2] *from the Mount.*—J. implies that the band of men did not go straight from the city, but went round and came upon Him from the side of the mountain. The emendation 'unto the Mount' is almost too easy.

[3] *with horns.*—*Cf.* Ex. 21. 29 (LXX).

went, and stayed until the death of Herod who slew the children in Bethlehem, and Archelaus succeeded him. And he too died before Christ came to the Dispensation[1] wrought by Him in accordance with the will of the Father in being crucified. 4. Now Herod succeeded Archelaus,[2] and received the authority that was allotted him, to whom Pilate also showed the favour of sending Jesus bound,[3] and this also God had known would happen, and foretold in these words, *And they bound and carried him off into Assyria as a present to the king.*[4] 5. Or he said, *A lion that is roaring,* of the devil himself; whom Moses indeed calls a serpent, but he is called devil in Job and Zechariah, and is addressed as *Satanas* by Jesus, signifying that he had obtained a name made up from the action he performed. For *sata* in the language of Jews and Syrians is 'apostate,'[5] and *nas* is a name from which the interpretation of 'serpent'[6] is taken. So from

[1] *Dispensation, cf.* xxx. 3 note.

[2] *Herod succeeded Archelaus.*—Archelaus was Ethnarch of Judaea Proper with Samaria and Idumaea, 4 B.C.—A.D. 6. Judaea and Samaria were governed by Roman procurators A.D. 6-41. Herod, i.e., Antipas, was Tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, 4 B.C.—A.D. 39. J. probably knew the facts, but was not concerned here with accuracy of expression.

[3] *bound.*—John 18. 24. J. adduces in evidence Hos. 10. 6, where the LXX does in fact read 'bound and carried him', though 'bound' is omitted in our masoretic text, and is doubtful in the text of J.'s quotation. *Cf.* Iren., *Preach.,* lxxvii. Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iv. 42.

[4] This application of the text to Herod may be the reason for calling him king of Assyria in lxxvii. 4. *Cf.* Cyril of Jerusalem (Cat. xiii. 14) in Rendel Harris, *Testimonies,* i. 67.

[5] *'apostate'.*—cxxv. 4. *ṣaṭa* 'be faithless', and in Aramaic also 'be rebellious', and in Syriac often 'Decline from religion'. *Cf.* maṣṭyānā, 'apostate', in 2 Macc. 5. 8.

[6] *'serpent'.*—Nāchāsh is the ordinary Hebrew word for serpent. The Samaritans among whom J. had lived (cxx. 6) omitted the guttural between two homogeneous vowels in their pronunciation. The Assyro-Babylonians, from whom the Samaritans had been colonized, usually omitted the guttural also in writing, *e.g.,* rāmu representing *rachāmu.*

both expressions comes the one name *satanas.*[1] 6. Moreover this devil—at the very moment that He ascended from the river Jordan, when the utterance had been spoken to Him, *Thou art My Son, to-day have I begotten Thee*[2]—is recorded in the Memoirs of the Apostles as coming up to Him and tempting Him, even so far as to say to Him, *Worship me,* and Christ answered him, *Get behind Me, Satanas; the Lord thy God shalt thou worship, and Him alone shalt thou serve.*[3] For as he led Adam astray, he thought that he could do some harm to Him also.

7. Again the phrase: *all my bones were poured out like water and were scattered, my heart became like melting wax in the midst of my belly,* was a prediction of what happened to Him that night when they came out against Him into the mount of Olives to take Him. 8. For in the Memoirs, which I say were composed by His apostles and them that followed them,[4] it is written that sweat flowed down like clots[5] while He was praying, and saying, *Let this cup pass away, if it be possible,* His heart plainly being a-tremble, and His bones likewise, and His heart being like wax melting into His belly. From this you may know that the Father has willed that His own Son should in reality[6] be in such suffering for our sake, and that we cannot say that, being God's Son, He had no share in what was done, and in what happened,

[1] *Satanas.*—Irenaeus (V. xxi. 2; *Preach.* 16) gives the same explanation of *Sata.*

[2] see lxxxviii. 8 note.

[3] A conflation of Matt. 4. 10 (Lk. 4. 8) with Matt. 16. 23.

[4] *and them that followed them.*—J. seems to refer to the language of Lk. 1. 3.

[5] *Cf.* Lk. 22. 44.

[6] *in reality.*—Against Docetism. See lxxxiv. 2; xcviii. 1; xcix. 2.

to Him. 9. And the phrase, *My might was dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue has cleaved to my throat, was, as I said before,*[1] a prediction of His silence, He who rebuked all your teachers as lacking wisdom giving no answer at all.

CIV

1. The next words are: *Into the dust of death didst Thou bring me down, for many dogs surrounded me, an assembly of evil-doers compassed me about. They dug through my hands and my feet; they counted up all my bones; they themselves too considered and gazed upon me; they divided for themselves my garments, and over my clothing did they cast lots.* These, as I have already said,[2] were a prediction showing the kind of death by which the assembly of the evil-doers was to condemn Him, whom He also calls *dogs*, yes, and meaning hounds, because they themselves were the huntsmen, and they who did their utmost for His condemnation went to the meet. This too is recorded in the Memoirs of His apostles as having taken place. 2. And that after His crucifixion they who crucified Him divided His garments for themselves, I have already shown.[3]

CV

1. The Psalm continues: *But Thou, O Lord, do not remove Thy help far from me. Be ready to aid me.*

[1] cii. 5.
[2] xcviii. 4. *Apost. Const.* V. xiv. 10 also quotes Ps. 22. 16 of those who hounded Christ to death.
[3] xcvii. 3.

Rescue my life from the sword, and my only begotten[1] *from the paw of the dog. Save me from the lion's mouth, and my lowliness from the horns of the unicorns.*

This likewise again teaches and foreannounces His state and what would happen to Him. For I have already shown[2] that He was *only begotten* of the Father of the universe, having become in His own being from Him Word and Power, and afterwards becoming man by the Virgin, as we have learned from the Memoirs.[3] 2. That He was crucified and died, He likewise foretold. For the sentence, *Rescue my life from the sword and my only begotten from the paw of the dog. Save me from the lion's mouth, and my lowliness from the horns of the unicorns,* was likewise the utterance of One who indicated the kind of suffering by which He was to die, namely, crucifixion. For I have already explained to you[4] that the shape of *the horns of the unicorns* is that of the cross only.

3. And his asking that his soul might be saved from sword, and from lion's mouth, and from dog's paw, was a prayer that no one should lord it over his soul, that, when we come to the end of this life, we may ask the same of God, who can turn back every shameless and

[1] *my only begotten.*— τὴν μον
Vulg. (*unicorn mean*) *i.e.* 'my one and only soul'; it has been suggested that J. wrote τὸν μ., because he immediately afterwards refers the phrase to the Son. But he may have thought it referred grammatically to δύναμις 'Word and Power', or, more probably, he had in his mind only the *fact* of Christ being 'only begotten', just as in § 2 he has in mind only the *fact* of His humiliation.

[2] c. 4.

[3] *the Memoirs.*—c. 4 note. If J. means that he takes the idea of 'only begotten' from John 1. 18, this is the only place where he definitely includes the Fourth Gospel among the Memoirs. c. 4 note.

[4] xci. 2.

evil angel[1] from seizing our soul. 4. Now that souls survive I have shown you[2] from the fact that even Samuel's soul was called up by the ventriloquist woman, as Saul demanded. And it appears further that all the souls of those who were similarly righteous men and prophets fell under the authority of such powers, as is in fact proved in the case of the ventriloquist woman by the events that took place. 5. By this God also teaches us by His Son, that we should do our utmost by all means to become righteous, and at our death to ask that our souls do not fall under any such power.[3] For when He gave up His spirit on the cross He said: *Father, into Thy hands I entrust My spirit.* This also I have learned from the Memoirs. 6. Further, when He was urging His disciples to surpass the Pharisees' mode of life, saying that, if they did not, they must know that they would not be saved, He is recorded in the Memoirs to have said: *Except your righteousness exceed the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.*[4]

CVI

1. The rest of the Psalm showed that He knew that His Father would supply Him with everything, as He desired, and would raise Him from the dead, and that He urged all who feared God to praise God, for that even

[1] *evil angel.*—xxx. 3 note. Here it is implied that such an evil angel has a special opportunity when we are dying, *cf.* § 5. There seems to be no close example of this belief in Jewish writings, but they say much about evil angels being near after a death, see *Jew. Enc.* iv., pp. 486, 520.

[2] *I have shown.*—Not in our existing text, but perhaps in the great lacuna of lxxiv. 3. Introd., p. xviii.

[3] The older texts differ slightly from that which is here adopted.

[4] Matt. 5. 20. The connexion is, Christ urges us to do our utmost to become righteous (§ 5).

by the mystery of Him who was crucified He had mercy on every race of men who were believers, and because He stood in the midst of His brethren, the apostles. For these, after He had risen from the dead, and they had been convinced by Him that even before His passion He told them that He must suffer these things, and that these things had been proclaimed beforehand by the prophets, repented of forsaking Him when He was crucified. The Psalm also showed that while He was with them He sang hymns to God, as the Memoirs of the apostles tell us did in fact take place. 2. The words of the Psalm are: *I will declare Thy name to my brethren, in the midst of the assembly will I sing hymns to Thee. Ye that fear the Lord, praise Him. All ye the seed of Israel, glorify Him; let all the seed of Israel fear Him.*[1]

3. When we are told that He changed the name of one of the Apostles to Peter, and we find it recorded in his Memoirs[2] that this took place (besides His having also changed the names of two other brethren, the sons of Zebedee, to that of Boanerges which is *sons of thunder*), it was an indication that this was He by whom the second name Israel was given to him that was called Jacob,[3] and the name Jesus was added to Oshea,[4] by which name also the people that survived of them that had come forth from Egypt were led into the land that had been promised to the patriarchs. 4. And that He was to spring up as a star by means of the race of Abraham, Moses made known covertly when he said

[1] Ps. 22. 22 *sq.* J. does not continue his quotation of the Psalm for, as he has already often seen in 'Jacob' and 'Israel' appellations of the Messiah, he now mentions others, led to do so by the words 'thy name'.

[2] c. 4 note.

[3] J. must have meant this, though in the text *Israel* and *Jacob* are transposed.

[4] *Oshea.*—See **lxxv. 1** *sq.*

thus: *A star shall spring up out of Jacob, and a leader out of Israel.*[1] And another Scripture saith: *Behold, the man—His name is Dayspring.*[2] When therefore a star sprang up also in heaven at the very time of His birth, as is written in the Memoirs of His apostles, the Wise Men from Arabia recognized Him from this, and came and worshipped Him.

CVII

1. With reference to the statement that He was to rise from the dead on the third day, it is written in the Memoirs that the men of your race disputed with Him saying: *Shew us a sign.*[3] And He answered them: *An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and no sign shall be given them, save the sign of Jonah.*[4] And though He uttered these mysterious words it was possible for it to be perceived by them that heard Him that after He was crucified He would rise on the third day. 2. And He showed that your generation was more evil and adulterous than the city of the Ninevites, for they, when Jonah preached to them, after being cast up on the third day from the belly of the big fish, that after three days[5] they would all perish together, proclaimed a fast of every single living creature, both men and beasts, with wearing of sackcloth, and vehement wailing, and heartfelt true repentance, and renunciation of all that

[1] Num. 24. 17. [2] Zech. 6. 12.

[3] Not a verbal quotation.

[4] Matt. 16. 4 verbally.—*Cf.* 12. 39; Mk. 8. 12; Lk. 11. 29.

[5] *after three days.*—So the LXX of Jonah 3. 4, but the Heb., Aq., Theod., Symm. read 'forty'. The MS. here reads, 'after in others . . . forty-three days' with a lacuna between 'others' and 'forty'. Evidently a marginal note, to the effect that in other authorities forty days are mentioned, has been incorporated. I., as usual, follows the LXX, and uses it for his purpose. See also § 3. Some critics think 'three' is the original text of the Hebrew.

tended to iniquity, for they believed that God is merciful and kindly towards all who turn away from evil. So that even the king of that city,[1] and his great men, in like manner wore sackcloth, and continued in their fasting and their supplication, and through their prayers their city was not overthrown. 3. Further, when Jonah was distressed at the city not being overthrown on the third day, as he proclaimed, the gourd was appointed, springing up[2] for him out of the earth, and as he sat under it he was shaded from the heat (now the gourd was a colocynth growing up on a sudden, without Jonah having planted or watered it, but it sprang up suddenly to supply him with shade), and again it was appointed to dry up, at which Jonah was grieved. But by all this God convinced him of being wrongly disheartened at the city of the Ninevites not having been destroyed. And He said: 4. *Thou didst spare the gourd, on which thou didst not toil, nor didst thou rear it; which came in its night and perished in its night; and shall not I spare Nineveh, the great city, in which dwell more than twelve myriads of men, who know not between their right hand and their left, and much cattle.*[3]

CVIII

1. Now all who are of your race knew these actions of Jonah, and Christ cried aloud among you that He would give you the sign of Jonah, urging that even after His resurrection from the dead you should repent of your

[1] *the king of that city.*—Observe that J. is not led away to suppose with many moderns that the Great King of Assyria is intended. For this would have been an anachronism in the time of Jonah. See my commentary on the passage.

[2] *springing up.*—cvi. 4 note. The word, repeated immediately, suggests that J. saw also in the gourd a figure of Christ.

[3] Jonah 4. 10 *sq.*

evil deeds, and lament before God like the Ninevites, in order that both your nation and your city should not be overthrown and taken, as it has been overthrown. 2. Yet not only did you not repent, when you learned that He had risen from the dead, but, as I said before,[1] you appointed chosen men and sent them into all the civilized world, proclaiming that 'a certain godless and lawless sect has been raised by one Jesus of Galilee, a deceiver,[2] whom we crucified, but His disciples stole Him by night from the tomb, where He had been laid after being unnailed[3] from the cross, and they deceive men, saying that He is risen from the dead and has ascended into heaven.' And you accuse Him of having taught those godless, lawless, and unholy things,[4] which, as you tell every race of men, you lay to the charge of them that acknowledge Him as Christ and Teacher and Son of God. 3. In addition to all this, although your city has been taken, and your land laid waste, you do not repent, but dare even to curse[5] Him and all them that believe on Him. And, as for us, we do not hate you, nor them that because of you accept such suspicions of us, but we pray that even now you may repent and find mercy from God the Father of the universe, who is tender-hearted and full of compassion.

CIX

1. Now in evidence that the Gentiles were to repent of the evil in which they strayed and spent their lives, when

[1] xvii. 1 note.
[2] *a deceiver.*—lxix. 7 note.
[3] *unnailed from the cross.*—The fact of the unnailing occurs also in the *Gospel of Peter*. See xcvii. 3 note.
[4] *those godless, lawless, and unholy things.*—x. 1 note.
[5] *curse.*—xvi. 4 note.

they had heard the word which was proclaimed by His apostles from Jerusalem, and was learned by their means—bear with me as I read some short words from the prophecy of Micah, one of the Twelve. 2. Now they are these: *And at the end of the days the mountain of the Lord shall be manifest, prepared on the top of the mountains, itself raised above the hills. And peoples shall flow as a river*[1] *on it, and many nations shall go, and say: Come ye, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and unto the house of the God of Jacob, and they will enlighten us as to His way, and we will walk in His paths. Because the Law shall go forth out of Sion, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem. And He will judge between many peoples, and convict strong nations even afar; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their pikes into reaping hooks, and nation shall not lift up sword against nation, and they shall not learn to make war any more.* 3. *And a man shall sit under his vine and under his fig tree; and there shall be none that maketh afraid; for the mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken. Because all the peoples shall walk in the name of their gods, but we will walk in the name of the Lord our God for ever. And it shall be in that day, that I will gather together her that hath been afflicted, and her that hath been cast forth will I assemble, even her whom I afflicted, and I will set her that hath been afflicted for a remnant, and her that hath been thrust forth for a strong nation; and the Lord shall reign over them in Mt. Sion henceforth and for ever.*[2]

[1] *shall flow as a river.*—The MS. 'shall set a river' is nonsense. J. here uses a more literal Greek translation than the LXX, which has merely 'hasten'.

[2] Mic. 4. 1-7.

CX

1. When I had finished this I added: And that your teachers, Gentlemen, acknowledge that all the words of this chapter are spoken of the Christ, I am aware. And that they say He has not yet come, this also I know. But they say that even if He has come it is not known who He is,[1] but when He shall become manifest and glorious, then, so they affirm, will it be known who He is. 2. And then, they say, will all that is spoken in this chapter come to pass, as though there were as yet no fruit at all come from the words of the prophecy. Most unreasonable men! For they do not understand what is shown by all these words, that two Advents of His have been announced; one in which He has been proclaimed as liable to suffering, and without glory, and without honour, and crucified; and the second, in which He will come with glory from the heavens, when also the Man of the apostasy,[2] who also speaketh strange things against the Most High, will dare to do lawless deeds on earth against us Christians. For we, who have come to know the true worship of God from the Law, and the Word that went forth from Jerusalem by the apostles of Jesus, have fled for refuge to Him who is God of Jacob and God of Israel. 3. And we who were filled full of war, and slaughter one of another, and every kind of evil, have from out of the whole earth each changed our weapons of war, our swords into ploughshares and our pikes into farming tools, and we farm piety, righteousness, the love of man, faith, and hope[3] which comes from the Father Himself through Him who was crucified, each

[1] *it is not known who He is.*—viii. 4 note.
[2] *the Man of the apostasy.*—xxxii. 3.
[3] *hope.*—For similar lists see Windisch on *Barn.* i. 6.

of us dwelling under his own vine, that is, each enjoying only his own wedded wife. For ye know the word of prophecy, *and his wife as a thriving vine.*[1] 4. And that there is *none that maketh afraid,* and leadeth into captivity us who throughout all the earth[2] have set our faith on Jesus, is evident. For though we are beheaded,[3] and crucified, and exposed to beasts and chains and fire and all other forms of torture, it is plain that we do not forsake the confession of our faith, but the more things of this kind happen to us so much the more[4] are there many others who become believers and truly religious through the name of Jesus. Just as when one cuts away the parts of a vine that have borne fruit, it so bursts forth that other flourishing and fruitbearing branches shoot up—in that very way is it also with us. For the vine that has been planted by God, and Christ the Saviour, is His people.[5]

5. Now the other parts of the prophecy will take place at His second Coming. For the phrase, *her that has been afflicted and thrust out,*[6] namely from the world, means that so far as it rests with you and all other men, each Christian has been cast out not only from his own possessions but even from all the world. For they suffer no Christian even to live. 6. But you affirm that this has happened to your people. Now if you were cast out by being conquered in war, with justice have you endured

[1] Ps. 128. 3. This is just such an explanation of Mic. 4. 4, 'under his own vine' as Jewish writers would give, but no example is forthcoming.

[2] *throughout all the earth.*—cxvii. 4 note.

[3] The courage of Christians may be illustrated from I *Apol.* ii. 4, 'You (heathen) can slay, but you cannot injure.'

[4] *so much the more.*—Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 50, 'The more we are mown down, the more we become; Christians' blood is seed.'

[5] This is one of finest passages in the Dialogue.

[6] Mic. 4. 6.

such suffering, as all the Scriptures bear witness. But we, having done no such thing after knowing the truth of God, are borne witness to by God, that we are taken away from earth together with Christ the wholly righteous and only spotless One, who is free from any sin. For Isaiah cries aloud: *Behold how the righteous has perished, and none layeth it to heart. And righteous men are taken away, and none considereth it.*[1]

CXI

1. That it was foretold in symbol, even in the time of Moses, that there would be two Comings of this Christ, I have already stated,[2] by means of the symbol of the goats that are offered in the Fast. And again the same thing was proclaimed and stated beforehand in symbol in what Moses and Joshua did. For the former of them stretched out his hands as he sat on the hill,[3] and so continued until evening, his hands being held up, a thing which is a type of nothing else but the cross.[4] And the latter, who had his name changed[5] to that of Joshua (Jesus), was the leader of the battle, and Israel prevailed. 2. And we may understand that this took place in the case of both those holy men and prophets of God, because

[1] Isa. 57. 1. [2] xl. 4.

[3] *on the hill.*—'The spot where Moses prayed while Joshua fought Amalek is a high steep mountain above Pharan, and where Moses prayed there is now a church' Petrus, ed. Geyer, p. 118, quoted by L. Eckerstein, *Hist. of Sinai,* 1921, p. 116. 'The stone on which Moses sat' at that time is mentioned among the still surviving sights at which God is to be blessed in T.B. *Berakoth* 54a, b. The *Mekilta* on Ex. 17. 12 says that Moses' hands were heavy from his sense of sin (*Pesiqta Zutarta* on the preceding verse, 'because of the iniquities of Israel'). He therefore sat down on the stone of 'the work (merit) of the Fathers' (see cxiii. 6 note).

[4] xc. 4 *sq.* note.

[5] lxxv. 1 note.

one of them could not support both those mysteries, I mean the type of the cross and the type of the addition of the name. For this power is and was and shall be the prerogative of One alone, whose name every principality doth fear,[1] being in an agony because it is to be destroyed by Him. Our Christ therefore who was liable to suffering and was crucified was not accursed by the Law, but showed that He alone would save them that do not depart from His faith. 3. And they also that were saved in Egypt, when the first-born of the Egyptians perished, were rescued by the blood of the passover, which was smeared on either side of the posts and the upper lintel. For Christ was the passover, who was sacrificed later, as also Isaiah said: *He was led as a sheep to slaughter.* And it stands written[2] that on the day of the passover you took Him and likewise at the passover you crucified Him. But as the blood of the passover saved them that were in Egypt, so also will the blood of Christ rescue from death them that have believed. 4. Was then God to be deceived, if this sign[3] had not been made over the doors? I say not so, but rather that by it He proclaimed the salvation that was to come to the race of men by means of the blood of Christ. Moreover, the symbol of the scarlet cord[4] which the

[1] *whose name every principality doth fear.*—*Cf.* Col. 1. 16; 2. 10, 15 of angels. Here of evil angels, but including human beings as influenced by them, in particular heathen rulers. *Cf.* xlix. 8; cxxi. 3; cxxxi. 5.

[2] *it stands written.*—J. believes that the N. T. says that both the arrest and the death of Christ took place on the day of passover, *i.e.* that Christ died on the actual day, the preceding evening being a part of it in the Jewish reckoning. See xcix. 2 note.

[3] *this sign.*—*Cf.* xciv. 2. J. believed that the blood was sprinkled in the form of a cross, like the old form of *Taw*, the last letter in the Hebrew alphabet, Ezek. 9. 4. So expressly Jerome on Isa. 66. 18.

[4] *the scarlet cord.*—So also Clem. Rom. 12. 7.

spies sent of Joshua (Jesus) the son of Nun gave to Rahab the harlot, bidding her bind it to the window by which she let them down, that they might escape their enemies, likewise showed the sign of the blood of Christ, by which they of all nations who were of old fornicators and unrighteous are saved, receiving remission of sins and sinning no more.

CXII

1. But you, with your mean exposition of these things, pronounce God guilty of every form of weakness, when you take them in such bald literalness without examining the force of the sayings. For even Moses would in this way be judged as a transgressor of the Law, for he himself gave charge that no likeness of anything should be made, either of the things in heaven or of those on earth or in sea. Yet afterwards he himself made a brazen serpent, and set it on a kind of sign and bade them that were bitten look unto it. And they were saved when they looked away to it.[1] 2. Shall then the serpent be thought to have saved the people at that time, (the serpent) which, as I have already said, God cursed at the first, and will slay with the great sword, as Isaiah cries aloud?[2] And shall we accept such things so unintelligently, as your teachers say is right, and not rather as symbols? And shall we not find a reference to the image of the crucified Jesus in the sign, when even Moses, by the stretching out of his hands together with him who was surnamed by the name of Jesus, caused your people to gain the day? 3. For in this manner we shall cease to be at a loss about the actions of the

[1] See xci. 4; xciv. 1 note.

[2] See xci. 4 note.

Lawgiver. For it was by no forsaking of God for a beast, by which (men's) transgression and disobedience had its beginning, that he persuaded the people to be of good hope. And all this took place, and was spoken by the blessed prophet, with much thought and inner meaning. And there is nothing of all that has been said or done by, in fact, all the prophets which any can rightly blame, if you have the true knowledge that was in them.[1] 4. But if all your teachers give you only such expositions as why male camels are not mentioned in such a place,[2] or what the so-called female camels really are, or why so many measures[3] of fine wheat, and so many measures of oil are (to be used) in the sacrifices, and all this in a mean and grovelling way, but never dare to mention or expound the great points which really deserve enquiry; or even charge you[4] not to listen at all to us as we expound them, and not to enter into any converse with us, will they not hear with justice the words that our Lord Jesus Christ said of them: *Whitened sepulchres, on the outside appearing beautiful, and within full of dead men's bones, tithing the mint, and swallowing the camel, blind guides?*[5] 5. Except

[1] *Cf.* xc. 2; xcii. 1, 6.

[2] *why male camels are not mentioned in such a place.*—The text here has 'female', which is interpolated from the next clause, but the point is that in Gen. 32. 15 only female camels are mentioned, and of the other animals both male and female. One answer (attributed to R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, A.D. 130-160, in *Gen. R.* par. lxxvi on the passage) is that the omission is in accordance with the modesty of camels in mating. Observe that the accuracy of the dates of Jewish tradition is confirmed by J.'s reference here.

[3] *why so many measures.*—There is some reference to such measures in the *Siphra* on Lev. 2. 1 (Schlossberg, p. 9 d). Philo explains the passage spiritually (*De Somn.* II. 10).

[4] *charge you.*—See xxxviii. 1 note.

[5] Matt. 23. 27, and 23. The camel fits § 4. J. omits 'straining out the gnat'.

therefore you despise the precepts of them that exalt themselves and desire to be called Rabbi, Rabbi,[1] and you approach the words of the prophets with such a mind and purpose that you suffer at the hands of your fellows what also the prophets themselves suffered, you cannot get anything at all useful from the prophetic writers.

CXIII

1. Now this is the kind of thing that I would say. Joshua (Jesus) as I have often said already, whose name was Oshea,[2] he who was sent with Caleb into Canaan as a spy of the land, was called Joshua (Jesus) by Moses. You (Trypho) do not ask the reason why he did this; you feel no difficulty about it; you make no serious investigation of it. Accordingly Christ remains hid from you, and when you read you do not understand, and, not even now, when you hear that Jesus is our Christ, do you argue that the name was not given him idly or by chance. 2. But you discuss the theological reasons why one 'a'[3] was added to the first form of the name of Abraham, and you likewise solemnly debate why one 'r' was added to that of Sarah, but you do not make any such enquiry why the family name of Oshea the son of Nun was completely changed to Joshua (Jesus). 3. Since not only was his name changed, but also having become

[1] Matt. 23. 7.

[2] *whose name was Oshea.*—See lxxv. 1 note.

[3] *why one 'a'.*—J. naturally argues from the Greek (Ἀβράμ Ἀβραάμ though an 'h' was added in Heb. So with Sarah in Greek, (σάρα, σάρρα) in Heb. an 'h' was substituted for 'y'. The meaning of the alterations is adduced in the Tosephta of *Berakoth* I. 13 (see my translation, p. 12).

Moses' successor, he, the only one[1] of his contemporaries who had come forth from Egypt, led the people that survived into the Holy Land. And just as he, not Moses,[2] led the people into the Holy Land, and as he divided it by lot to them that entered with him, so also will Jesus the Christ turn the Dispersion of the people, and will distribute the good land to each, though not again in the same manner. 4. For the one (Joshua) gave them the inheritance for a time, for he was not Christ our God, nor Son of God, but the other (Jesus), will, after the holy resurrection, give us our possession for ever. He (Joshua) made the sun stand still, for he had earlier been surnamed by the name of Jesus, and had received might from His Spirit. For I have shown[3] that it was Jesus who appeared to Moses and to Abraham, and in fact to all the other prophets, and conversed with them, ministering to the will of His Father. He also came to be born man by the Virgin Mary, and is man for ever.[4]

5. For this is He of whom[5] the Father (made) the heaven and the earth, and by whom He will restore them.[6] This is He who is to shine in Jerusalem as an everlasting light.[7] This is He who is always King of

[1] *he, the only one.*—J. ignores Caleb, though mentioning him in § 1. Introd., p. xxxiv.

[2] *he, not Moses.*—So Tert. (*Adv. Jud.* 9) finds in Joshua the figure of Him who was to introduce His people into the possession of eternal life—for it was 'not by Moses, *i.e.* the discipline of the Law, but by Jesus, *i.e.* by the grace of the new law.' But J. seems to be thinking of the Millennium (*cf.* lxxxi. 4 note).

[3] See lvi. *sqq.*

[4] The text is uncertain here.

[5] *of whom.*—Very obscure. . I have understood it as referring to the work of the Logos in Creation; but it may mean 'at whose coming, and by whom, the Father will restore the heaven and the earth.'

[6] Isa. 60. 1, 19 *sq.*

[7] *ibid.*

Salem and everlasting Priest of the Most High, according to the order of Melchizedek.[1]

6. He (Joshua) is said to have circumcised the people with knives of stone[2] as their second circumcision (which was a proclamation of that circumcision wherewith Jesus Himself circumcised us, thus cleansing us from stones and all other idols) and making *heaps*[3] of them who in every place were circumcised from their *uncircumcision,* that is to say from the error of the world, with knives of stone, (namely) the words of our Lord Jesus. For it has been proved by me that Christ was proclaimed by the prophets in parables as Stone[4] and Rock. 7. And we shall understand therefore the stone knives as His words, by which so many who were in error have been circumcised from their uncircumcision, with the circum-

[1] Melchizedek.—xix. 4 note.

[2] *knives of stone.*—xxiv. 2; cxiv. 4; Josh. 5. 2. See further the end of this chapter. J. may be silently opposing the Midrashic explanation which sees in the 'stone' the merits of the Fathers (see *Ex. R.* on Ex. 12. 2 and cxi. 1 note). His argument is that 'stone' points to Jesus. So the *Dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus* § 125 says, 'The μαχαίραι were of stone because the stone is Christ.' Similarly Aphraat (*Hom.* xi on *Circumcision* § 12) says, 'Jesus the son of Nun . . . circumcised . . . with a scimitar of stone . . . Jesus our Saviour circumcised a second time . . . The peoples . . . were circumcised with the scimitar which is His word, which is sharper than a sword with two edges.' And to this even Heb. 4. 12 may perhaps allude (see also Rendel Harris, *Jesus and the Exodus,* in *Expositor* for July 1919, pp. 69 *sq.* and *Test.* ii. pp. 54, 105). The *Altercatio Simonis et Theophili* (V. 20) adduces the same passage in Joshua, saying that it was addressed to Christ, with a further fulfilment of *'gladios petrinos'* in Simon *Peter.* For the use of stone knives for circumcision by various races see *Jew. Enc.* iv. 97b. Flint knives may still be lawfully used for circumcision (*Midr. ha-Gādôl* on Ex. 4. 25, edit. Hoffmann; *Shulchan Aruk, Yoreh Deah* § 264. 2). On circumcision in general see xix. 2 note.

[3] *heaps.*—*J.'s* MS. of the LXX of Josh. 5. 3 seems to have read ἔθηκαν θιμωνίας ἀκροβυστιῶν as in one Greek MS. (W), with the Sah. and the Old Lat. Introd., p. xxxiv.

[4] lxxvi. 1 note.

cision of their heart, wherewith God ordered from that time onwards, by means of Joshua (Jesus), that they also who had the circumcision which took its origin in Abraham should be circumcised, for He said that Joshua even circumcised them who entered into that holy land with a second circumcision, by knives of stone.

CXIV

1. For sometimes the Holy Ghost caused what was to be a type of the future to be performed openly, and sometimes He also uttered sayings about things that were to happen in the future, as though they were then taking place, or had already taken place. And unless readers know this method, they will not be able to follow the words of the prophets as they ought. I would mention, for example, certain words of prophecy, that you may follow what I have said. 2. When it says by Isaiah: *He was led as a sheep to slaughter, and as a lamb in the presence of its shearer,*[1] it speaks as though the suffering had already taken place. And when it says again: *I stretched out my hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people,*[2] and when it says: *Lord, who hath believed our report,*[3] the words are spoken as though they meant news of events that had already taken place. Moreover I have shown that it often calls Christ a Stone in parable,[4] and also *Jacob* and *Israel* in figurative speech.[5] 3. And again when it says: *I will see the heavens, the works of Thy fingers,*[6] except

[1] Isa. 53. 7.
[2] Isa. 65. 2; *cf.* Rom. 10. 21.
[3] Isa. 53. 1.
[4] lxxvi. 1 note.
[5] xxxiv. 6 note.
[6] Ps. 8. 3.

I understand the operation of His Word,[1] I shall hear the words without understanding them, as your teachers require, when they think that the Father of the universe, and God unbegotten,[2] has hands[3] and feet and fingers and soul like a compound living creature, and even for this reason do they teach that the Father Himself was seen of Abraham and of Isaac. 4. Happy therefore are we who were circumcised with the second circumcision by knives of stone.[4] For the first circumcision, which is yours, has taken place, and still takes place, by iron, for you remain hard of heart. But ours is that circumcision, which being second in number, for it was made known later than yours, circumcises us from idolatry, and in fact all vice, by sharp edged stones, that is to say by the words that were spoken by the apostles of the Corner Stone, and the Stone cut without hands. For our hearts have been so circumcised from evil that we even rejoice as we die for the name of that noble Rock, as it gushes forth living water for the hearts of them who have loved the Father of the universe by Him, and gives to drink of the water of life to them that desire it. 5. But when I say this you do not understand. For you have not understood the things prophesied for Christ to do. And you do not even believe us when we lead you to the written words. For Jeremiah cries aloud as follows :

[1] *the operation of His Word.*—The MS. has 'His words', but J. is thinking of the Logos as the instrument of Creation (John 1. 3). So lxxxiv. 2, end; cxiii. 5 note.

[2] *unbegotten.*—v. 1.

[3] *has hands, etc.*—'Origen, Eusebius, Cyril, credit the Jews with the same error' (Otto). Even Maimonides (A.D. 1135-1204) thought it necessary to protest against such anthropomorphisms. See his *Môreh Nebôchim*, I. 1, and M. Friedländer's notes in his translation, p. 28. For early correction of anthropomorphic expressions in the O. T. see Geiger, *Urschrift*, pp. 323-327. On the phraseology of Cabbalistic Jews see *Jew. Enc.* iii. 459; xi. 298.

[4] cxiii. 6 note.

Woe to you, because you have left a living spring, and have dug for yourselves cisterns that are broken, which will not be able to hold water.[1] *Is there to be a desert where the mountain of Sion is?*[2] *for I have given Jerusalem a bill of divorce in your presence.*[3]

CXV

1. But you ought to believe Zechariah as he shows the mystery of Christ in a parable, and preaches Him in hidden fashion. Now this is what is said: *Rejoice and be glad, O daughter of Sion; for behold I come and will make My dwelling in the midst of thee, saith the Lord. And many nations shall be added unto the Lord in that day, and they shall be My people. And I will make my dwelling in the midst of thee, and they shall know that the Lord of Hosts hath sent me unto thee.* 2. *And the Lord shall inherit Judah and his portion in the holy land, and shall again choose Jerusalem. Let all flesh fear at the presence of the Lord, because He hath been raised up from His holy clouds. And He showed me Jesus, the high priest, standing before the face of the angel of the Lord. And the devil was standing on his right hand to oppose him. And the Lord saith unto the devil: The Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke thee! Behold, is not this a brand plucked out from the fire?*[4]

3. And as Trypho was about to answer and contradict me, I said: Wait first, and hear what I say. For I am not about to give the explanation you suppose, to the effect that there never was any priest by the name of Jesus in the land of Babylon where your people had been

[1] Jer. 2. 12 *sq.*
[2] Jer. 3. 8.
[3] *Cf.* Isa. 16. 1, LXX.
[4] Zech. 2. 10—3. 2.

carried captive. And even if I said so, I should have known that although there was Jesus a priest, in your race, the prophet did not see him in his own person in his revelation, even as he did not see either the devil or the angel of the Lord by his actual eyes, as being in his normal state, but in an ecstasy,[1] for a revelation was made to him. 4. But now I say that just as God said that by the name Jesus (Joshua), which was given to the son of Nun, he did miracles and other things which proclaimed beforehand what was to be done by our Lord, so will I now prove that also the revelation given in the time of Jesus who was priest in Babylon among your people was a proclamation beforehand of what was to be done by our Priest and God and Christ, son of the Father of the universe.

5. I wondered indeed already, said I, why you kept quiet a little time ago when I was speaking, or how it was that you did not take me up when I said[2] that the son of Nun was the only one of his contemporaries who went out from Egypt into the Holy Land, together with them who are recorded as being younger members of that generation. For you are like flies settling on wounds as quick as ever they can. 6. For even if one makes ten thousand statements accurately, and there should be one tiny little thing unpleasing to you, or not understood, or not exact, you give no heed to the many accurate statements, but take up the little tiny word, and do your best to make it out contrary to religion and to righteousness. The result will be that, when you are judged with the same kind of judgement by God, you will have to give the stricter account for your audacious crimes,

[1] *in an ecstasy.—Cf.* Tert. *Adv. Marc.* IV. xxii.
[2] cxiii. 3.

whether they be evil deeds or worthless expositions, which you make by your false methods. For, *with what judgement you judge,* it is right that *you be judged.*[1]

CXVI

1. But that I may render to you my account concerning the revelation of Jesus Christ the holy,[2] I repeat my discourse, and say that that revelation also was made with reference to us who believe on Christ the high priest, even Him who was crucified. For we, who formerly lived in fornication, and, in fact, every kind of filthy action, have, by the grace supplied by our Jesus in accordance with the will of His Father, put off all the filthy garments wherewith we were clothed. Yet the devil stands over against us, ever opposing us, and wishing to draw all unto himself. And the angel of God, that is to say the power of God which was sent us by Jesus Christ,[3] rebukes him, and he departs from us. 2. And we have been plucked out as from fire, when we were purged from our former sins, and also from the affliction and the burning, wherewith both the devil and all his servants burn us. For from them again does Jesus the Son of God pluck us. Also He has engaged to clothe us with the clothing prepared for us, if we practise His commandments; and He has promised to provide an everlasting kingdom. 3. For in the same

[1] *Matt.* 7. 2. *Cf.* Mishna, *Sotah* I. 6 (7). 'With the measure wherewith a man measures shall it be measured to him.'

[2] *Jesus Christ the holy.*—For, unlike Jeshua, His garments were not filthy.

[3] *the angel of God . . . the power of God which was sent us by Jesus Christ.*—It is tempting to see a direct reference to the Holy Ghost (John 15. 26), and so Neander (*Ch. Hist.* E.T. ii. 339), but probably J. is thinking of God's power in general revealed in and through Christ.

that that Jesus (Jeshua), who was called priest by the prophet, appeared wearing filthy raiment, because he is said to have taken a woman that was a harlot,[1] and was termed a brand plucked from the fire because he had received remission of sins,[2] when even the devil that opposed him was rebuked, so we, who by the name of Jesus have as one man believed on God the Maker of the universe, and have by the name of His first-born Son stripped off our filthy garments, that is to say, our sins, for we were set on fire by the word of His calling,[3] are now the true high priestly race of God, as God Himself bears witness, saying that in every place men are bringing among the Gentiles pure sacrifices acceptable to Him.[4] But God receives sacrifices from no one save through His priests.

CXVII

1. God therefore has long since borne witness that all sacrifices offered by His name, which Jesus the Christ

[1] *because he is said to have taken a woman that was a harlot.*—See Lev. 21. 14. J. appears to have confused him with his namesake Hosea (Hos. 1. 2 *sq.*). But the same tradition is implied in the Targum, which says on Zech. 3. 5, after he is cleansed, 'and they brought him a wife who was fit for the priesthood.' On *v.* 3, however, the reason given is that his sin lay in having 'sons who had taken wives who were not fit for the priesthood' (Ezra 10. 18). So also T. B. *Sanh.* 93a, which adds, 'and he made no protest against them.'

[2] *because he had received remission of sins.*—In *Sanh.* (supra) Jeshua is called a brand plucked from the fire because (through his sons' sin) unlike the Three Children and Abraham, he had not wholly escaped from the furnace into which Nebuchadnezzar cast him. T. J. *Taanith,* 69b says that the title was given because out of eighty thousand priests who fled into the fireplaces of the temple in the siege all were burnt save he alone.

[3] *set on fire by the word of His calling.*—*Cf.* Jer. 23. 29. J. is determined to bring in the idea of fire which was connected with Jeshua (Zech. 3. 2).

[4] Mal. 1. 11. See xli. 2 note; cxvii. 2.

enjoined, namely at the thanksgiving[1] of the bread and the cup, which are offered in every place on earth by the Christians, are well pleasing to Him. But those that are made by you, and by means of those priests of yours, He utterly rejects, saying: *and your sacrifices will I not accept from your hands; because from the rising of the sun unto its setting My name has been glorified, He says, among the Gentiles, but ye do profane it.*[2] 2. And until now do you say in your love of controversy, that God did not accept the sacrifices in Jerusalem in the case of those who were called Israelites and dwelt there then, but that He has said that the prayers of those persons of that race who in truth were then in the Dispersion did please Him, and that He calls their prayers sacrifices.[3] Now that both prayers and thanksgivings, when made by worthy people, are the only perfect and acceptable sacrifices to God, I also myself affirm. 3. For these alone were Christians taught to make, even at the remembrance of their food, both dry and liquid,[4] in

[1] *all sacrifices . . . at the thanksgiving.*—J. does not say that the Eucharist itself is a sacrifice. He means the prayers, the acts of charity, and the consecration of oneself. See Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, i. 205 *sq.*

[2] Mal. 1. 10-12, a good deal shortened, the general sense being retained. Contrast xxviii. 5; xli. 2.

[3] *He calls their prayers sacrifices.*—So § 4. This is the traditional interpretation. The times of the Synagogue prayers correspond to those of the sacrifices, and the statements of the Law about these are read at them. See Oesterley and Box, *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, 1911, pp. 361 *sq.* In *Num. R.* Par. xiii on Num. 7. 12 (ed. 1875, p. 103c), the application of Mal. 1. 11 to the prayers is given in detail. Observe that J. interprets Mal. as referring to Jews of the Dispersion in his own day, which perhaps also suggests that there were synagogues during the Exile in Babylon (see Abrahams, *Studies*, 1st Series, 1917, p. 1). In *Pesiqta Rabbathi, Addition*, on Lev. xxii. 27 (Friedmann, p. 192a) a Gentile in vain argues with R. Jose bar Chaliphta that on the strength of Mal. 1. 11 he should be allowed to offer sacrifices.

[4] *both dry and liquid.*—The Jews carefully distinguished the form

which also the suffering which the Son of God has suffered for their sake is brought to mind. But the priests and teachers of your people have caused His name to be profaned and blasphemed throughout the whole earth.[1] These falsehoods are, as it were, filthy clothing, set by you upon all who from the name of Jesus have become Christians, but God will show them as taken away from us, when He raises all up, and sets some as incorruptible and immortal and free from all sorrow in an everlasting kingdom that will never cease, and sends away others into everlasting punishment by fire. 4. Now you and your teachers deceive yourselves, when you state in your exposition that the word was speaking of those of your race who are in the Dispersion, because it said their prayers and sacrifices were clean and acceptable in every place. Learn rather that you are speaking falsely and are trying to deceive yourselves in everything. For first, your race is not even now *from the rising of the sun unto its setting,* for there are nations among which none of your race has ever yet dwelt.[2]

of their 'grace' according to the nature of the food partaken. See Mishna, *Berakoth,* vi. 1-4.

[1] See xvii. 1.

[2] *nations among which none of your race has ever yet dwelt.*— Josephus puts into the mouth of Agrippa, who was trying to dissuade the Jews from rebelling against Rome, 'The danger concerns not those Jews that dwell here only; but those of them which dwell in other cities also; for there is no people upon the habitable earth which have not some portion of you among them' (*B.J. II.* xvi. § 398, Whiston's translation). But that is hardly a calm and scientific statement, and, besides the rhetorical character of the speech, 'the habitable earth' (ἡ οἰκουμένη) may well mean only 'the Roman Empire'. For the universality of Christians, on the contrary, see liii. 6; xci. 3; cx. 4; cxxi. 1; cxxxi. 5. Eusebius has an eloquent passage on the subject (*Demonstratio* iii. 5, p. 112d). Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the first three centuries,* E.T. 1908, vol. ii, has two maps, showing (*a*) the spread of Christianity up to A.D. 180, (*b*) *c.* A.D. 325.

5. But there is not one race of men at all—barbarians or Greeks or persons addressed by any name whatever, or Waggon-livers,[1] or so-called Homeless men, or Cattle-rearers dwelling in tents[2]—among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not made to the Father and Maker of the universe through the name of Jesus who was crucified. Further, we know that at that point of time, when the prophet Malachi said this, the Dispersion of you in all the earth, so far as you are now there, had not yet taken place, as is also proved from the Scriptures.

CXVIII

1. So you should rather cease the contention you so much love, and repent before the great day of judgement comes, in which all from among your tribes who pierced this our Christ are to wail, as I have proved from Scripture[3] to have been foretold. And that the Lord sware *according to the order of Melchizedek,* and what that prediction means, have I explained.[4] And that the prophecy of Isaiah was about Christ who was to be buried and to rise again, when he said: *His burial has been taken out of the midst,* have I said before.[5] And that this Christ is Himself judge of all living and dead, I have said repeatedly.[6] 2. And further, Nathan likewise, when speaking about Him to David, continued as

[1] *Waggon-livers, i.e.* Scythians. *'Campestres melius Scythae Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos.'* Horace, *Odes* III. xxiv. 9 *sq.*

[2] *Cattle-rearers dwelling in tents.*—Gen. 4. 20 (LXX).

[3] *as I have proved.*—xiv. 8; xxxii. 2.

[4] *have I explained.*—xxxiii. 2. J. means that Ps. 110 refers to Christ's reigning in power.

[5] *have I said before.*—xcvii. 2.

[6] *I have said repeatedly.*—xxxvi. 1; xlvi. 1; xlix. 2; lxiv. 7; lxxiii. 4; *cf.* cxxi. 3; cxxxii. 1.

follows: *I will be to him for Father, and he shall be to Me for son, and My mercy will I not remove from him, as I did from those who were before him. And I will set him in my house and in his kingdom for ever.*[1] And Ezekiel says that *the ruler*[2] in the house is no other than this (very Christ) Himself. For He is the chosen Priest and everlasting King, the Christ, as being Son of God. And do not think that Isaiah or the other prophets say that when He appears again sacrifices of blood or of drink-offerings will be offered on the altar. They speak only of true and spiritual praises and thanksgivings.[3] 3. And not in vain[4] have we believed on Him, nor were we led astray by them that taught us thus, but this has happened by the wonderful providence of God, in order that we should be found of more understanding and of more religion than you who think yourselves lovers of God and men of understanding, but are neither one nor the other, by the call of the new and everlasting covenant, namely the Christ.[5] 4. Isaiah thus spake as he marvelled at this: *And kings shall close their mouth; because they shall see to whom the news of Him was not brought, and they shall understand who have not heard. Lord, who hath believed our report? And the arm of the Lord, to whom was it revealed?*[6]

And, Trypho, I added, when I say this, I am endeavouring as far as possible to make the same statements over again for the sake of those who have come with you to-day, but briefly and concisely.

[1] 2 Sam. 7. 14-16, not very accurately. *Cf.* lxviii. 5.
[2] Ezek. 44. 3.
[3] *Cf.* cxvii. 2.
[4] *not in vain,* as T. had urged, viii. 3 *sq.*
[5] *See* cxxii. 6.
[6] Isa. 52. 15; 53. 1.

5. Then he said: You do well. But even though you were to repeat the same statements at greater length, be sure that both I and those that are present with me would rejoice to hear them.

CXIX

1. I said again: Do you think, Gentlemen, that we should ever have been able to have understood these things in the Scriptures unless we had received grace to understand them by the will of Him who willed them, in order that what was said in the time of Moses should take place? 2. *They provoked me with strangers; they embittered me with their abominations; they sacrificed to demons whom they know not; new and fresh ones have come, whom their fathers knew not. Thou didst forsake God who begat thee, and thou didst forget God who nourisheth thee. And the Lord saw, and was jealous, and was provoked because of the anger of His sons and daughters, and said: I will turn my face away from them, and will show what shall happen to them in the last times, because it is a perverse generation, sons in whom there is no faith. They made Me jealous with a no-god, they made Me angry with their idols. And I will make them jealous with a non-nation, with a nation that understandeth not will I make them angry. Because fire has been kindled by my wrath, and it shall burn as far as Hades. It shall devour the earth and its increase; it shall burn up the foundations of the mountains. I will gather evils together against them.*[1]

3. And after that Righteous One was slain we sprouted up [2] afresh as another people, and shot forth as new and

[1] Deut. 32. 16-23.
[2] J. seems to have Hos. 2. 23 in mind, and perhaps Ezek. 17. 24.

thriving ears as the prophets said: And many nations *shall flee unto the Lord in that day to become a people, and shall have their dwelling in the midst* of all the earth.[1] But we are not only a people, but also a holy people, as we have already proved:[2] *And they shall call it a holy people, redeemed by the Lord.*[3] 4. Wherefore we are not a people to be despised, nor a clan of barbarians, nor like the nations of the Carians or the Phrygians,[4] but God has even chosen us,[5] and has been made manifest to them that enquired not after Him. *Behold, I am God,* He says, *to the nation, who called not upon My name.*[6] For this is that nation which God long since undertook to give Abraham, and promised to make him father of many nations, not saying in particular, father of Arabs or Egyptians or Idumaeans. For he became also the father of Ishmael, a great nation, and of Esau, and there are still a great number of Ammonites.[7] But Noah was also the father of Abraham and in fact of every human race, and others became ancestors of different nations. 5. What more then does Christ[8] here grant to Abraham? This, that by a similar

[1] Zech. 2. 11.

[2] *a holy people, as we have already proved.*—See cx. 3; but Arch. thinks the proof was in the passage omitted in the great lacuna. For the early patristic application of 'holy' to the Church see Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma, ii.* 75.

[3] Isa. 62. 12.

[4] *the Carians or the Phrygians.*—Proverbial, see *Iliad* ii. 867; Cicero, *Pro Flacco* xxvii. 65.

[5] *Cf. Deut.* 14. 2.

[6] Isa. 65. 1; *cf.* xxiv. 4.

[7] *and there are still a great number of Ammonites.*—J. strangely implies that they were descended from Abraham, like Ismael and Esau. Jer. 49. 6 says 'afterward will I bring again the captivity of the children of Ammon' (Heb. only). Ps. Origen says they are now included under 'Arabs' (on Job 1. 1. Migne P. G. xvii. 376).

[8] *Christ,* who is regarded by J. as speaking to the Patriarchs; *cf.* lvi-lxii; cxxvii. 4.

calling He called Him with His voice, telling him to go forth from the land in which he was dwelling.[1] And all of us also did He call by that voice, and we went forth from the state of life in which we were living, yea, and living evilly according to the common ways of all other inhabitants of the earth. And we shall inherit the Holy Land together with Abraham, receiving our inheritance for a boundless eternity, as being children of Abraham because we have like faith with him.[2] 6. For in the same way that he believed the voice of God, and it was reckoned to him for righteousness, in that very way have we also believed the voice of God, which was repeated by the apostles of Christ, and also was preached to us by the prophets, and we have bidden farewell to all the things that are in the world,[3] even to the point of death. Therefore does He promise him the nation when it is of like faith with him, and truly religious, and righteous, making the father glad.[4] But He does not include you, *in whom there is not faith.*[5]

CXX

1. You see however how He makes the same promises to both Isaac and Jacob. For He speaks to Isaac thus: *And all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in thy seed.*[6] And to Jacob: *And all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed in thee and in thy seed.*[7] He does not continue saying this to Esau or to Reuben, or to any other, but only to them from whom the Christ was to come in accordance with the Dispensation of God through

[1] Gen. 12. 1.
[2] Gal. 3. 29.
[3] *Cf.* Lk. 14. 33.
[4] Prov. 10. 1; 15. 20.
[5] Deut. 32. 20.
[6] Gen. 26. 4.
[7] Gen. 28. 14.

the Virgin Mary. 2. And if you were also to consider the blessing of Judah, you would see what I say. For the seed is divided after Jacob, and comes down through Judah and Pharez and Jesse and David. Now these facts were signs that some of your race will be found children of Abraham, seeing that they are also found in the portion of Christ. But others, though children of Abraham, being the sand on the sea-shore,[1] which is unproductive and unfruitful, though great and innumerable, but not producing any fruit at all, but only drinking up the water of the sea. And of this is the greater part of your nation convicted, for you all drink up doctrines of bitterness and godlessness, while you utterly reject the word of God.

3. He says therefore in the passage about Judah :[2] *A prince shall not fail from Judah and a ruler from his loins, until what is laid up for him shall come; and he shall be the expectation of the Gentiles.*[3] And that this was said not of Judah but of the Christ, is plain. For all we who are of all the Gentiles are not expecting Judah, but Jesus, who also brought up your fathers out of Egypt. For the prophecy proclaimed beforehand until the coming of the Christ : *until he come for whom it is laid up; and he shall be the expectation of the Gentiles.* 4. So then He has come, as we have proved at some length, and He is the object of our expectation, to come again upon the clouds, even Jesus, whose name ye do profane, and ye cause it to be profaned in all the earth.

Now, Gentlemen, I could contend with you about the passage, which you interpret by affirming that it runs :

[1] Gen. 22. 17.
[2] *in the passage about Judah.—Cf.* Rom. 11. 2.
[3] Gen. 49. 10. See the next note.

until those things that are laid up for him come. For this is not the interpretation of the Seventy, but, *until He come for whom it is laid up.*[1]

5. But since the words that follow indicate that this is said of Christ (for they are: *And He shall be the expectation of the Gentiles*) I do not enter into a discussion about the exact phrase, just as I was not anxious to draw my proof about the Christ from the Scriptures that you do not acknowledge,[2] namely from words (attributed to) the prophet Jeremiah and Esdras and David, which I also recited, but from those which you acknowledge still. For if your teachers had understood these, you may be well assured that they would have deleted them[3] as (they have treated) those that speak of the death of Isaiah, whom you sawed asunder with a wooden saw.[4] Now this itself was a hidden emblem of the Christ, who is to cut your nation asunder, deeming some worthy of His everlasting kingdom with the holy patriarchs and prophets. But He has already

[1] *'until He come for whom it is laid up.'*—J.'s text of the LXX here and I *Apol.* xxxii. 1 evidently differed from the reading of the greater MSS. (Swete's text), but is upheld by many early authorities (See Brooke and McLean), and is the probable meaning of the Heb. *Cf.* Ezek. 21. 27 (32). In § 3 and lii. 2 the surviving MS. of the *Dialogue* has been adapted to the current text of the LXX by the copyist, making nonsense of J.'s argument in this section.

[2] See lxxi-lxxiii.

[3] *would have deleted them.*—J. hinted at this in lii. 1, 'for this reason'.

[4] *Isaiah whom you sawed asunder with a wooden saw.*—The earliest evidence, save probably Heb. 11. 37, is in the *Martyrdom of Isaiah* (1st century A.D.) incorporated in the *Ascension of Isaiah* v. 1, 'Beliar was wroth with Isaiah, and he dwelt in the heart of Manasseh, and he sawed him in sunder with a wooden saw.' See also T. J. *Sanhed.* x. 2 (p. 28c), where the legend is embellished; *cf.* T. B. *Yeb.* 49b; *Sanh.* 103b. Possibly some copyist had mentioned it on the margin of a MS. of the LXX, and his note had been incorporated in the text that J. used.

said that He will send some to the sentence of unquenchable fire, with those of all the Gentiles who, like them, are disobedient and unrepentant. 6. For *they shall come,* He said, *from west and east, and shall recline* (at the feast) *with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven. But the sons of the kingdom shall be cast out into the outer darkness.*[1]

This, I added, would I say because I care for nought else than to speak what is true, intending to be afraid of no one, even though I were at once to be torn in pieces of you. For I cared nought even for any of my own nation, I mean the Samaritans,[2] when I addressed myself to Caesar[3] in writing, and I said that they were deceived in obeying Simon the Magician in their nation, whom they say is above every principality and authority and power.[4]

CXXI

1. As they kept quiet I continued: (The word) by David, when speaking about this Christ, my Friends, no longer said that the Gentiles would be blessed *in his seed,*[5] but *in Him.* Now the words stand thus: *His name is for ever; above the sun shall it spring up; and all the nations shall be blessed in Him.*[6] But if all the nations are blessed in the Christ, and we out of all the nations believe on this Man, then He is the Christ and we they that have been blessed by Him. 2. The sun indeed God had given formerly for worship, as it is

[1] *Matt.* 8. 11 *sq.*
[2] *of my own nation, I mean the Samaritans.*—See Introd., p. ix.
[3] *to Caesar.*—See I *Apol.* xxvi. 1-4; lvi. 1 *sq;* II *Apol.* xv. 1 (if the words are genuine there).
[4] *Cf.* Acts 8. 10.
[5] Gen. 13. 15.
[6] *Ps.* 72. 17; *cf.* lxxvi. 7

written,[1] yet one cannot find any who ever endured death because of his belief in the sun. But one can find men of every nation, who, because of the name of Jesus, have endured, and do endure, sufferings of all kinds for not denying Him.[2] For His word of truth and wisdom is more blazing and more brilliant than the sun's might, and entereth into the very depths of the heart and of the understanding. Wherefore also did the word say: *Above the sun shall His name spring up.*[3] And again: *The dawn is His name,* says Zechariah.[4] And speaking about the same person he said: *They shall lament, tribe by tribe.*[5] 3. Now in His first coming, which was without honour and form, and was despised, He yet showed so much brilliancy and might that in no single nation is He unknown: so that some among every nation have repented of the old evil manner of life belonging to each race, and even the demons are made subject to His name, and all the principalities and kingdoms[6] fear the name of this Man beyond all that ever died. Will He not then most assuredly at His coming in glory destroy all them that have hated Him, and them that have unjustly revolted from Him, and give His own people rest, rendering to them all that they are expecting? 4. To us therefore was it given both to hear, and to understand, and to be saved by this Christ, and to know all the things of the Father.[7] Therefore said God unto Him: *Is it a great thing for thee to be called My servant, to establish the tribes of Israel, and to bring the dispersions of Israel back? I have set thee for a light of Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for their salvation unto the very ends of the earth.*[8]

[1] Deut. 4. 19; *cf.* lv. 1 note.
[2] *Cf.* xlvi. 7 note.
[3] See § 1.
[4] Zech. 6. 12; *cf.* c. 4.
[5] Zech. 12. 12.
[6] *Cf.* cxi. 2 note.
[7] John 14. 7.
[8] Isa. 49. 6.

CXXII

1. You indeed suppose that this was said of the Stranger and the Proselytes.[1] But in reality they were said of us who have been enlightened through Jesus. For surely Christ could have borne witness also to them, but, as He Himself said, *you now become doubly sons of hell.*[2] Therefore it is not with reference to them that the sayings of the prophets were spoken, but with reference to us, concerning whom the word says: *I will bring blind (men) on a way that they have not known, and they shall tread paths which they never knew.*[3] *And I am witness, saith the Lord God, and my Servant whom I have chosen.*[4] 2. To whom therefore does the Christ bear witness? Plainly to them that have believed. But the proselytes[5] not only do not believe, but utter blasphemies against His name doubly more than you, and wish both to kill and to torment us who believe on Him. For they are eager to become like you in everything. 3. And again He cries aloud elsewhere: *I the Lord called thee in righteousness, and will lay hold of thy hand and will strengthen thee, and I will set thee for a covenant of the nation, for a light of Gentiles, to open the eyes of*

[1] *the Stranger and the Proselytes.*—The Jews interpreted the Servant as the Jewish nation, and, naturally, those whom the nation won in various degrees would be sojourners under the Jewish faith, or definitely proselytes. Kimchi understands the verse (Isa. 49. 6) to refer to those converts which the Jewish nation will make in the future 'after the wars of Gog and Magog'. J. argues further in cxxiii that this verse cannot refer to proselytes.

[2] The text is obscure, and the translation uncertain, but the reference is to Matt. 23. 15.

[3] Isa. 42. 16.

[4] Isa. 43. 10 (LXX).

[5] *the proselytes.*—Converts are always keener for their new religion than those to whom they have joined themselves. J. probably knew of Aquila and his zeal in translating the Scriptures in an anti-Christian sense.

the blind, to bring them that are bound out of their chains.[1] For these things also, Gentlemen, have been spoken with reference to the Christ, and concerning the Gentiles that have been enlightened. Or will you say again: with reference to the Law and the proselytes He says them?

4. Then some of those who had come on the second day[2] cried out as though in a theatre: What then? Does He not say them with reference to the Law and those that have been enlightened by it? Now these are the proselytes.

5. Nay, I said, turning and looking at Trypho. For if the Law had power to enlighten the Gentiles and all them that possess it, what need were there of *a new covenant?*[3] But since God proclaimed beforehand that He would send a new covenant, and an everlasting Law, and ordinance, we must not understand the old Law and its proselytes, but Christ and His proselytes, us Gentiles, whom He enlightened, as He says somewhere: *Thus saith the Lord: In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee. And I have given thee for a covenant of Gentiles, to establish the earth, and to take desolate places as thy inheritance.*[4]

6. What then is the inheritance of Christ? Is it not the Gentiles? What is the covenant of God? Is it not Christ?[5] As He says also in another place: *My Son art thou; I to-day have begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee Gentiles as Thy inheritance, and thy possession the very limits of the earth.*[6]

[1] Isa. 42. 6 *sq.*
[2] *on the second day.*—See Introd., p. xviii.
[3] Jer. 31. 31. See xi. 2 notes.
[4] Isa. 49. 8.
[5] See cxviii. 3.
[6] Ps. 2. 7 *sq.*

CXXIII

1. As therefore all these statements refer to Christ and the Gentiles, you should consider that those others do also. For the proselytes have no need of a covenant, since, as there is one and the same Law for all who are circumcised, the Scripture speaks about them as follows: *And the Stranger too shall be added unto them, and he shall be added unto the House of Israel.*[1] And (again) because a proselyte who is circumcised with the object of joining the people is like one who is native-born;[2] but we who have been deemed worthy of being called a people are likewise a (Gentile) nation because we are not circumcised. 2. Besides, it is even ludicrous for you to think that the eyes of the proselytes themselves have been opened, and not your own, and to hear yourselves spoken of as blind and deaf,[3] but them as enlightened.

And you will see that it is still more ludicrous, if you affirm that the Law has been given to the Gentiles, though you yourselves do not know that Law. 3. For you would have regarded the wrath of God, and not been lawless sons, and vagrant, troubled at hearing Him saying always, *sons, in whom there is no faith,*[4] and, *Who is blind but my servants, and deaf, but they who lord it over them? And the servants of God were blinded. Ye saw often, and ye did not keep guard. Your ears were open, and ye heard not.*[5]

[1] Isa. 14. 1.

[2] *like one native-born.*—'The proselyte is regarded as a new-born child (T.B. *Yeb.* 62a); hence his former family connections are considered as ended, and he might legally marry his own mother or sister; but lest he come to the conclusion that his new status is less holy than his former, such unions are prohibited' (*Jew. Enc.* x. 223).

[3] Isa. 42. 18 *sq.*; 43. 8.

[4] Deut. 32. 20.

[5] Isa. 42. 19 *sq.*

4. Is God's praise of you good? And is God's testimony such as is comely for His servants? You are not ashamed though you hear this often; nor when God threatens do you tremble, but surely you are a foolish and hard-hearted people. *Therefore, behold, I will again remove this people, saith the Lord, and I will remove them, and will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the understanding of them that understand will I hide.*[1] Deservedly so. For you are not wise nor understanding,[2] but sharp and cunning; wise only to do evil, but incapable of knowing the hidden will of God or the faithful covenant of the Lord, or of finding the everlasting paths.[3] 5. Therefore: *I will raise up to Israel,* He says, *the seed of man and the seed of beasts.*[4] And by Isaiah He says thus about another Israel: *In that day shall Israel be third among the Assyrians and Egyptians, blessed in the land which the Lord of Sabaoth blessed, saying, Blessed shall my people be which is in Egypt and among the Assyrians, and my inheritance is Israel.*[5]

6. When therefore God blesses, and calls this people Israel, and cries aloud that it is His inheritance, how is it that you do not repent, both for deceiving yourselves as though you alone were Israel,[6] and for cursing[7] the people that is blessed of God? For also when He was speaking unto Jerusalem and the countryside round it,

[1] Isa. 29. 14.
[2] Jer. 4. 22.
[3] Jer. 6. 16.
[4] Jer. 31. 27.
[5] Isa. 19. 24 *sq.*
[6] *as though you alone were Israel.*—*Cf.* Midr. *Tanchuma* on Gen. 18. 17 (Buber, p. 88), 'Moses desired that even the Mishna should be in writing, but the Holy One, blessed be He, foresaw that the peoples of the world would in the future translate the Law, and read it in Greek. And they would say, We too are Israelites.' *Cf.* lxviii. 7 note.
[7] *cursing.*—xvi. 4 note.

He again added: *And I will beget men upon you, my people Israel, and they shall inherit you, and you shall be a possession for them, and you shall no more be bereaved by them of children.*[1]

7. What follows? said Trypho; Are you Israel, and does He say all this about you?

If, said I to him, we had not spoken at length about all this, I should certainly be in doubt whether you asked this question as not understanding what has been said. But since we have concluded our study of this subject with proofs to which you have agreed, I do not suppose that you either are ignorant of what has been already said, or desire to be contentious again, but are challenging me to bring forward the same proof to these other friends.

8. As he nodded in assent, I said: In Isaiah again, if you do but listen when you hear with your ears, God, speaking about the Christ, calls Him in parable Jacob[2] and Israel.[3] Now He says thus: *Jacob is my servant, I will help him; Israel is my chosen, I will set my spirit upon him, and he shall bring forth judgement to the Gentiles. He shall not strive nor cry; neither shall any hear his voice in the broad places; a reed that is bruised he will not crush, and flax that is smoking he will not quench. But he shall bring forth unto truth, he shall take up judgement, and he shall not be broken until he sets judgement on the earth. And on his name shall Gentiles hope.*[4] 9. As therefore from that one Jacob, who was also surnamed Israel, your whole nation was addressed as Jacob and Israel, so also we who keep the

[1] Ezek. 36. 12.
[2] *Jacob.*—xxxvi. 2 note.
[3] *Israel.*—xxxiv. 6 note.
[4] Isa. 42. 1-4.

commandments of Christ, are, by virtue of Christ who begat us unto God, both called and in fact are, Jacob and Israel and Judah and Joseph and David, and true children of God.

CXXIV

1. As I saw them disturbed at my saying that we are even children of God, I anticipated their enquiry and said: Listen, Gentlemen, how the Holy Spirit says concerning this people, that they are all sons of the Highest, and that when they are gathered together this Christ Himself will be present, to enforce judgement on every race of men.[1] 2. Now the following are the words of David, as you yourselves interpret them:[2] *God stood in the assembly of gods, but in the midst does He judge gods. How long do ye judge (with) iniquity, and accept the persons of sinners? Judge for orphan and poor, and acquit the humble and the beggar. Deliver the beggar, and rescue the poor out of the hand of the sinner. They have not known, nor have they understood; they walk in darkness; all the foundations of the earth shall be shaken. I said: Ye are gods and all children of the Most High. But you die as a man,*[3] *and fall as one of the princes. Arise, O God; judge the earth; because Thou shalt receive the inheritance among all the Gentiles.*[4] 3. Now in the translation of the Seventy it

[1] See cxvii. 3; cxxi. 3.

[2] *as you yourselves interpret them.*—Hardly a direct reference to the Hebrew (see next note), but either to the current Hebrew interpretation, or, more probably, to Aquila's version, which is not extant for this verse. Introd., p. xxxiv.

[3] *as a man.*—The MS. has 'men', copying the LXX, but J.'s argument in § 4 shows that he wrote the singular, as it is in the Hebrew. See Introd., p. xxxiv.

[4] Ps. 82.

is said: *Behold, of a truth ye die as men, and fall as one of the princes,* that He may declare also the disobedience of men, I mean Adam and Eve, and the fall of one of the princes, namely him who was called the Serpent,[1] for he fell with a great fall because he deceived Eve.[2] 4. I have not however cited this passage with this object, but in order to prove to you that the Holy Spirit rebukes men, who were made, like God, free from suffering and immortal, if they kept His precepts, and were deemed worthy of being called by Him His sons. But they became like Adam and Eve and prepared death for themselves, let the interpretation of the Psalm be as you will. And thus it has been proved that they were deemed worthy to become gods, and deemed worthy to be all capable of becoming sons of the Highest, yet are to be judged and condemned each by himself, as also were Adam and Eve. Now that He also calls Christ God, has been proved repeatedly.[3]

CXXV

1. I should like, I said, to learn from you, Gentlemen, what is the force of the name of Israel. And as they were silent I continued: I will say what I know. For I do not think it right not to speak when I know. And when I suspect that you know, but do not wish to speak through envy or inexperience, I myself do not understand being always anxious (what to say), but I would rather

[1] *Serpent.*—ciii. 5 note.

[2] *because he deceived Eve.*—J. places the fall of Satan after the Fall of Adam and Eve. The early Fathers supposed that the earth was put under the care of Satan, who tempted man out of jealousy, and was in consequence punished by God. See *Iren. Adv. Haer.* IV. lxvi. 2 (xl. 3).

[3] See liv.

speak simply and without guile, as my Lord said: *The sower went forth to sow his seed; and some fell into the road, and other into the thorns, and other on the rocky soil, and other on the good ground.*[1] 2. One must therefore speak in hope of there being good ground somewhere. Since, in any case, He, my lord, as being strong and powerful, will, when He comes, demand the repayment of His own property from all, and will not condemn His steward, if He is aware that, because he knows his Lord is powerful, and will come and demand the repayment of His own, he is setting it out on every banker's table, and has not dug and hid (his Lord's property) for any reason whatsoever.[2]

3. The name of Israel[3] then means this: A man overcoming power. For '*Isra*' is 'a man overcoming', and '*el*' is 'power'. And this it was prophesied that Christ would do when He had become man, by the mystery of the wrestling in which Jacob wrestled with Him who appeared to him,[4] because He was ministering to the will of the Father, and yet was God because He was the First-born Child of all creatures.[5] 4. For when He had become man, as I have already said,[6] the devil came up to Him, namely that power which is also called Serpent and Satan, tempting Him, and striving his

[1] *Cf.* Matt. 13. 1-8. Observe that J.'s order, 'thorns . . . rocky soil', is the reverse of that of the Evangelists.

[2] Matt 25. 18.

[3] *Israel.*—It must be remembered that J. has recently given the name of Israel to Christ, cxxiii. 8. The exact meaning of the word is uncertain. J. is probably right in connecting (as it seems) *Isra* with *sar, sârah*, 'to act as prince', and *el* with *êl*, 'power' or 'God', but he is probably wrong in making *el* the object (*cf.* Gen. 32. 29) instead of the subject.

[4] lviii. 10.

[5] *Cf.* Col. 1. 15; lxxxiv. 2; c. 2 note. The term 'First-born Child' as applied to Christ seems to be unique.

[6] ciii. 6.

utmost to cast Him down by his request that He should worship Him. But He overthrew him, and cast him down, rebuking him for being evil, in his request that contrary to the Scripture he should be worshipped as God, having thus become an apostate[1] from the mind of God. For He answers him: *It is written: The Lord thy God shalt thou worship, and Him alone shalt thou serve.*[2] And, worsted and rebuked, the devil then withdrew. 5. But since our Christ was also to grow numb, namely in toil and in the sense of suffering, at the time that He was to be crucified, He proclaimed this also beforehand by touching Jacob's thigh and making it grow numb.[3] Further, Israel was a name given him from of old, with which He surnamed the blessed Jacob when He blessed him with His own name, proclaiming also by this that *blessed Israel*[4] means all who flee by Him to the Father. But you, though you have understood nothing of all this, nor make preparation for understanding, expect assuredly to be saved, since you are children of Jacob according to carnal descent.[5] But that in this also you are deceiving yourselves, I have shown repeatedly.

CXXVI

1. Now,[6] Trypho, I said, if you had known who this is, who sometimes is called Angel of great counsel, and

[1] *an apostate.*—ciii. 5 note.
[2] Matt. 4. 10.
[3] *making it grow numb.*—Gen. 32. 25 (LXX). The *Targ. of Jonathan* says the angel was Michael. Philo sees in the numbness our imperfection in virtue (*De mut. nom.* 35), or placidity in success (*De Somn.* I. 21; *De Praem.* 8).
[4] *Cf.* Isa. 19. 24 *sq. Cf.* cxxiii. 5.
[5] *according to carnal descent.* xliv. 1 note.
[6] Chapters cxxvi-cxxix have much in common with liv-lxii.

Man by Ezekiel, and as Son of Man by Daniel, and Child[1] by Isaiah, and Christ and God to be adored by David, and Christ and Stone by many, and Wisdom by Solomon, and Joseph and Judah and Star by Moses, and Day-Spring by Zechariah, and liable to suffering and Jacob and Israel again by Isaiah, and Rod and Flower[2] and Cornerstone and Son of God, you would not utter blasphemies against Him, when He has already come, and been born, and has suffered, and has ascended into heaven. Who shall also come again, and then shall your twelve tribes wail.[3] 2. Since if ye had understood what has been spoken by the prophets, you would not deny that He is God, Son of the only and Unbegotten and Ineffable God. For thus it is said somewhere even by Moses in Exodus: *Now the Lord spake unto Moses, and said unto him: I am the Lord, and I appeared unto Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, I their God, and my Name I did not make known to them, and I established my covenant with them.*[4] 3. And thus does he say again: *A man was wrestling with Jacob,*[5] and He affirms that he is God. For he states that Jacob said, *I saw God face to face, and my life was saved.* And he wrote down that he also called the place where He wrestled with him, and appeared to him, and blessed him, *The Vision of God.*[6]

[1] *Child,* Isa. 9. 6. Only here in the *Dialogue* with reference to Christ.

[2] *Flower,* the LXX rendering of *nētzer* in Isa. 11. 1. This Greek word is also used of Christ only here in the *Dialogue.* Irenaeus, *Preaching* § 59, quotes Isa. 11. 1-10, and says 'And by *flower* he means His flesh, for from spirit it budded forth.' For other references see Rendel Harris, *Test.* ii. p. 62.

[3] Zech. 12. 12.

[4] Ex. 6. 2-4.

[5] Gen. 32. 24.

[6] J. only follows the interpretation given to 'Peniel' in Gen. 32. 30.

4. And in like fashion to Abraham, as Moses says, did God appear at the oak of Mamre, as he sat at the door of his tent midday. Then he continues thus: *And he looked up and saw with his eyes, and, behold, three men stood over against him. And when he saw them he ran to meet them.* And a little after one of them promises Abraham a son: *Why is it that Sarah laughed saying: Shall I then bear a child? Nay, I am old. Does a word lack power with God? At this time will I return in due season, and Sarah shall have a son.*[1] And they depart from Abraham. 5. And he speaks about them again as follows, *But the men rose up from thence and looked towards the face of Sodom.* Then He who was and is says thus again unto Abraham: *I will not hide from my servant Abraham what I am about to do.*[2] And the succeeding statements from the books of Moses, and already explained by me,[3] I again repeated. And by these, I said, it has already been proved that He who was seen of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and the other patriarchs was appointed by the Father and Lord, and was ministering to His will, and is termed God. 6. And I added, although I had not included it in my earlier remarks: In the same way also, when the people lusted after flesh to eat, and when Moses disbelieved Him who is there called Angel,[4] who was promising that God would give (it) them unto satiety, He Himself, being both God and Angel sent from the Father, is shown to have said and done all this. For the Scripture continues in these terms: *And the Lord saith unto Moses: shall not the hand of the Lord suffice? Now shalt thou know,*

[1] Gen. 18. 2, 13 *sq.* [2] Gen. 18. 17. [3] lvi.

[4] *who is there called Angel.*—If J. did not merely make a mistake he must have found *Angel* somewhere in Num. 11. 1-22, but Brooke and McLean give no example of such a reading.

whether my word shall take effect for thee or not.[1] And again He thus says elsewhere: *Now the Lord said unto me: Thou shalt not pass over this Jordan. The Lord thy God, who goeth before thy face, He shall destroy the nations.*[2]

CXXVII

1. And the rest of the statements by the Lawgiver and the Prophets are of the same kind. But I suppose that I have said sufficiently that, when my God says: *God went up from Abraham,*[3] or, *The Lord spake unto Moses,*[4] and *The Lord came down to see the tower which the children of men built,*[5] or when *God shut the ark of Noah on the outside,*[6] you should not consider that the unbegotten God has come down, or gone up, from anywhere. 2. For the ineffable Father[7] and Lord of all neither comes to any place, nor walks, nor sleeps, nor arises, but abides in His place, wherever that is, seeing acutely and hearing acutely not with eyes nor ears, but with power beyond all speech. And He surveys all things and knows all things, and no one of us escapes His notice. Nor is He moved, who cannot be contained in any place, even the whole world, who in truth was even before the world came into being.

3. How therefore should He speak unto any, or be seen of any, or appear in a tiny part of earth, when the people

[1] Num. 11. 23. One cursive MS. has the same error, 'cover' ἐπικαλύψεται for 'overtake' ἐπικαταλήμψεται.
[2] Deut. 31. 2 *sq.*
[3] Gen. 17. 22.
[4] Ex. 6. 29, and often.
[5] Gen. 11. 5.
[6] Gen. 7. 16.
[7] *the ineffable Father.*—The commentators refer to Origen *c. Cels.* iv. 5 for a fuller statement of the argument.

had no power to behold at Sinai even the glory of him who was sent by Him, nor had Moses himself power to enter into the tabernacle which he made, if it was filled with the glory from God; nor, further, could the priest endure to stand before the shrine, when Solomon brought the ark into the House that was in Jerusalem, which Solomon himself had built? 4. Neither Abraham therefore, nor Isaac, nor Jacob, nor any other man, saw the Father and ineffable Lord of all things whatsoever, and of Christ Himself, but only Him who, in accordance with God's will, is both God, His Son, and Angel, from the fact of His ministering to His purpose, Him whom He has also willed to be born man through the Virgin, Him who also once became Fire when He held that conversation with Moses from the Bush. 5. Since if we do not understand the Scriptures, the result will be that the Father and Lord of the universe was not in heaven at the time when it is said by Moses: *And the Lord rained on Sodom fire and brimstone from the Lord out of heaven,*[1] and again when it is said as follows by David: *Lift up your gates, ye princes, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting gates, and the King of glory shall come in;*[2] and again when He says: *The Lord saith to my Lord: Sit on my right hand, until I set thine enemies thy footstool.*[3]

CXXVIII

1. And that Christ being the Lord, and ever God the Son of God, and appearing by His power[4] in olden time as man and angel, appeared also in the glory of fire,

[1] Gen. 19. 24. *Cf.* lvi. 23. [2] Ps. 24. 7. [3] Ps. 110. 1.

[4] *by His power,* only, not in the real presence of the Incarnation. *Cf.* liv. 1.

as in the bush, so also at the judgement that was done to Sodom, has been demonstrated in several of my utterances.[1]

Then I proceeded to relate again all that I had even already written from Exodus, both about the vision at the bush, and the surnaming of the name of Joshua (Jesus), and I continued: 2. Yet do not think, Sirs, that I am over-wordy when I say all this so often. It is because I know that there are even some who wish to anticipate my explanation, and to assert that the power which was from the Father of the universe and appeared to Moses or to Abraham or to Jacob was called *Angel*[2] when He came forth unto men, since by that power are the messages from the Father carried to men; and (was called) *Glory*,[3] since He appears sometimes in an appearance that cannot be reckoned by space; and was called sometimes *a man* and *a human being*, since He makes His appearance in the fashion of such forms as the Father wills. And they call Him *Word* (*Logos*)[4], since He also bears to men the discourses that come from the Father. 3. But (they assert) that this power can never be cut off or separated[5] from the Father, in the same way that, as they say, the light of the sun on earth

[1] lvi. *sq.*; lix.

[2] *the power . . . was called 'Angel'*.—On some angels being temporary manifestations of the Divine power, see § 3 note.

[3] *and was called 'Glory'*.—lxi. 3; *cf.* cxxxi. 3; *cf.* Heb. 1. 3. In Jewish literature the title (*Kābôd*, Yeqārah) has much in common with that of Shekinah. See Abelson, *The Immanence of God*, 1912, pp. 380-382.

[4] *And they call it Word* (*Logos*).—lxi. 1. In I *Apol.* xxii. 2 J. compares the appellation of Hermes by 'word' because he came with a message from God.

[5] *cut off or separated*.—J. appears to insist on the separate existence of the Logos, as against those who affirmed that He was a temporary manifestation. J. may be referring to Jewish thinkers akin to Philo, or, and more probably, to such theories as culminated in the teaching of Praxeas and Noetus.

cannot be cut off or separated, though the sun is in heaven. And when the sun sets the light is borne away with it. So the Father, they affirm, makes, when He will, His power to spring forward, and, when He will, He draws it back again into Himself. They teach that in this way He also made the angels.[1] 4. But that therefore angels are, and ever remain, without being resolved again into that out of which they came into existence, has been demonstrated.[2] And that this power, which the word of prophecy, as has likewise been demonstrated at length,[3] calls both God and Angel, is not numbered[4] (as second) by name only, as is the light of the sun, but is something different in actual number, I have already proved in what I have briefly stated. For I said[5] that that power has been born of the Father, by His power and will, but not by cutting off, as though the being of the Father were divided, as all other things, when they are divided and cut off, are not the same as they were before they were cut off. And I brought forward[6] for the sake of example the fact that we see the fires kindled from a fire are separate existences from it, though that from which many can be kindled is in no wise diminished, but remains the same.

[1] *the angels.*—*Cf.* T.B. *Chagiga* 14a, 'Every single day the angels that minister (to Him) are created from the stream of fire, and they utter a song, and cease to be'; and, on the same page, 'From every single utterance that goeth forth from the mouth of the Holy One, blessed be He, is a created one angel, for it is said, By the word of the LORD were the heavens made, and by the breath of His mouth all their host (Ps. 33. 6).

[2] *has been demonstrated.*—Hardly, in our present text, though reference is made to lxxxv. 4, 6.

[3] *demonstrated at length.*—*Cf.* cxxvi. 1.

[4] *numbered.*—lvi. 11 note.

[5] *For I said.*—lxi. 2.

[6] *I brought forward, ibid.*

CXXIX

1. I will now repeat my earlier arguments in proof of this. When it says: *The Lord rained fire from the Lord out of heaven,*[1] the word of prophecy declares that there are two in number, One on earth, who, it says, had come down to see the cry of Sodom, and One ever in heaven, who is also Lord of the Lord who is on earth, as being Father and God, and the cause of His being the Mighty One[2] and Lord and God. 2. And again when the word says that God spake in the beginning: *Behold Adam has become as one of Us,*[3] this phrase *as one of Us* itself is a declaration of number, and the words do not allow of metaphor, as the sophists endeavour to expound, for they can neither speak the truth nor understand it. 3. And it is said in [the book of] Wisdom:[4] *If I relate to you the things that take place every day, I will remember (also) to tell by number those that are from eternity. The Lord created me*[5] *as the Beginning of His ways for His works. Before eternity He founded me, in the beginning, before He made the earth, and before He made the depths, and before the springs of waters came forth, before the mountains were founded; and before all hills doth He beget me.*

4. And when I had said all this I continued: You understand, ye who listen to me, if at least you will pay attention, that the word showed that this Offspring has

[1] Gen. 19. 24. See lvi. 23.
[2] Zeph. 3. 17.
[3] Gen. 3. 22. See lxii. 3.
[4] *in (the book of) Wisdom.*—*i.e.* Prov. 8. 21-25. *Cf.* Clem. Rom lvii. 3, where see Lightfoot's note.
[5] *created me.*—lxi. 3 note.

been begotten by the Father before all creatures whatsoever. Now that which is begotten is other in number than that which begets, as every single person will acknowledge.

CXXX

1. And as they all agreed I said: I would now adduce certain passages of Scripture which I have not mentioned before. They are the words spoken with a hidden meaning by Moses the faithful attendant.[1] And thus is it said: *Rejoice, ye heavens, along with Him, and let all angels of God worship Him.*[2] And I added the rest of the passage as follows: *Rejoice, ye Gentiles, with His people, and let all angels of God strengthen Him. Because the blood of His sons is avenged, and He will avenge it, and He will recompense punishment to His enemies, even them that hate Him will He recompense; and the Lord will purge His people's land.*[3] 2. By saying this He means that we Gentiles rejoice with His people, I mean Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and the prophets, and in fact all from that people who are pleasing to God, in accordance with what you have already conceded to us.[4] But we do not understand by this all who are of your nation, since we know even by Isaiah that the limbs of them that have transgressed are to be devoured by worm and never-ceasing fire, abiding immortal, so that they may be seen of all flesh.[5] 3. But I wish, Gentlemen, I said, to speak to you, in addition to all this, certain other words from those very words of Moses. For from these you will understand that of old God dispersed all

[1] *Moses the faithful attendant.*—xlvi. 3 note.
[2] Deut. 32. 43. (LXX).
[3] Deut. 32. 43.
[4] *conceded to us.*—lxxx. 1.
[5] Isa. 66. 24.

men by their nations and languages; yet out of all the nations He took to Himself your nation, a nation unprofitable and disobedient and unbelieving; and He showed that those who were chosen from every nation have obeyed His will through Christ, whom He calls Jacob and names Israel, so these (believers on Christ) must also be both Jacob and Israel, as I said before at some length.[1] 4. For in saying: *Rejoice, ye Gentiles, with His people,* He apportions to them the like inheritance, and gives to them the like nomenclature. But when He says that as Gentiles they are even rejoicing with His people, He says it to the reproach of your nation. For in the same way that you provoked Him by committing idolatry, so also has He deemed them, though idolators, worthy to know His will, and to inherit the inheritance that is with Him.

CXXXI

1. I will also utter the words which show that God divided out the nations. They are these: *Ask thy father, and he shall relate to thee; thy elders, and they shall tell thee. When the Most High divided out nations, when He separated Adam's sons, He set the bounds of nations according to the numbers of the sons of Israel. And His people Jacob became the Lord's share, Israel the line of His inheritance.*[2] And on saying this I added that the Seventy interpreted thus: *He set the bounds of nations according to the number of the angels of God.* But since, once more, my argument is not at all weakened by this, I used your interpretation.[3]

[1] cxxiii. 5, 8; cxxv. 3, 5.

[2] Deut. 32. 7-9.

[3] J. seems to mean that for his argument it is unimportant whether the meaning is 'sons of Israel' (Heb.) or 'angels of God' (LXX). For his knowledge of a similar divergence between the Hebrew and the LXX see cxxiv. 3.

2. Further, if you will confess the truth, you yourselves cannot deny that we are more faithful than you in relation to God. For we, having been called of God by means of the mystery of the cross, which is so despised and full of shame[1]—and to our confession and obedience and piety have punishments, even unto death, been awarded by the demons and the host of the devil, through the service rendered to them by you[2]—(we, I say) endure all things lest we should deny Christ even in word. For by Him were we called unto salvation which was prepared beforehand of the Father. 3. Yet you were redeemed from Egypt with a high arm and a visitation of great glory, when the sea was cut asunder for you and a dry path made through it, in which He slew them who were pursuing you with very great power and splendid chariots, by flooding them with the sea that had been made passable for your sake. And for you also did the pillar of light shine, that even beyond all other people in the world ye should be able to use a light all your own that fadeth not nor setteth. And to you did He rain down bread for your food, that belonged to angels of heaven,[3] even the manna, that you should not go seeking for the means of preparing bread. And the water at Marah was sweetened. 4. And there was given a sign of Him who was to be crucified, both in the case of the serpents that bit you, as I have already said[4]—God in

[1] *Cf.* lxxxix. 2.

[2] *through the service rendered to them by you.*—xiv. 4 notes. See also xviii. 3.

[3] *food, that belonged to angels of heaven.*—See lvii. 2 note. Otto reads ἴδιον ἀγγέλων but the MS. has δι' ἀγγέλων meaning that angels were the means by which the manna was sent. *Cf. Yalq.* on Ps. 78. 25, 'Each ate bread which the angels of ministry ground.'

[4] xciv. 1 note.

His forethought granting you beforehand all these mysteries ere they were fulfilled, towards whom you stand convicted of being always ungrateful—and by the type of the stretching out of Moses' hands,[1] and by him who was surnamed Jesus (Joshua) when the Amalekites were attacking. Now concerning these God said that the fact should be recorded, charging also that the name of Jesus (Joshua) should be committed to your hearing, saying that this was he who was to wipe ot the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.[2] 5. For that the remembrance of Amalek still abides after the son of Nun, is plain. But that by Jesus who was crucified (of whom even those figures were predictions of all the evil that should be done to Him) the demons were to be utterly destroyed,[3] and were to fear His name, and that all the principalities[4] and kingdoms were likewise to cower before Him, and that out of every race of men[5] they who believe on Him would be shown to be God-fearing and peaceable, God makes plain, and the facts, Trypho, already related by me declare.

6. And so great a number of landrails was given you when lusted after flesh to eat that they could not be numbered.[6] And for you water sprang forth from a rock,[7] and a cloud was following for shade from the heat,[8] and protection from the

[1] *the stretching out of Moses' hands.*—xc. 4 note.
[2] *Amalek.*—xlix. 8 note.
[3] *the demons to be utterly destroyed.*—xlix. 8; xci. 4.
[4] *the principalities, etc.*—cxi. 2 note.
[5] *out of every race of men.*—cxvii. 5.
[6] Ex. 16. 13.
[7] Num. 20. 11.
[8] *a cloud . . . for shade from the heat.*—Ps. 105. 39 speaks of the cloud as a covering, without stating the object from which it protected them.

frost,[1] yielding tidings of the fashion and promise of another new heaven. And the thongs of your sandals were not broken, nor did the sandals themselves grow old,[2] nor were your clothes worn thin,[3] but then those of your young people grew along with them.[4]

CXXXII

1. In spite of all this you made a calf, and eagerly committed fornication with the daughters of the aliens, and committed idolatry, and did so again afterwards, when the land had been entrusted to you with such great power, that you beheld even the sun stand still in the heaven at the bidding of him who was surnamed by the name of Jesus,[5] and not setting till thirty-six hours had gone by,[6] and you beheld all the other miracles that were wrought for you, each at its own season. One of these I think I ought to mention at this point. For it conduces towards your understanding Jesus through it, whom we have also recognized as Christ, the Son of God, crucified, and risen, and ascended into the heavens, and about to come again as Judge of all who have ever lived, as far

[1] *and protection from the frost.*—It has been proposed to read 'and a pillar of fire for protection from the frost', as in *Apost. Constit.* viii. 12. This would agree with the view of some Rabbis that there were two clouds (*Midr. Tehillim* on Ps. 105. 39) but it is unnecessary.

[2] *your sandals did not grow old.*—Deut. 29. 5.

[3] *your clothes worn thin.*—*Cf.* Deut. 8. 4; 29. 5.

[4] *but even those of your young people grew along with them.*—In the *Pesiqta d' Rab Kahana* (*Bshallach,* Buber, p. 92) we find that R. Eleazar ben Simeon (latter half of cent. ii) asked his father-in-law R. Simeon ben Yose ben Laqonia, 'But did they not grow? He said to him, See this snail, whenever it grows its shell grows with it. Similarly in *Cant. R.* on Cant. 4. 11. 1875, p. 50a.

[5] *Jesus.*—lxxv. 2.

[6] *until thirty-six hours had gone by.*—J. assumes that Joshua prayed in the early morning, and that the sun did not set until its usual time on the following day. Ecclus. 46. 4 says only, 'one day became as two.'

back as Adam himself. 2. For you are aware, I said, that when the tabernacle of witness[1] had been carried off by the enemy who lived round Ashdod, and a terrible and incurable plague had happened to them, they took counsel to set it on a waggon, to which they yoked heifers that had newly calved, as a test to know whether they had been plagued by the power of God because of the tabernacle, and whether God willed it to be carried back whence it was taken. 3. When they had done this, the heifers, without guidance from any man, did not come indeed unto the place whence the tabernacle had been taken, but into the farm of a certain man called Oshea, of the same name as he whose name was changed to that of Joshua (Jesus), as was said before,[2] who also brought the people into the land, and gave it to them by lot. And when they had come into this farm they remained there, (God) showing you by all this, that they were guided by the name of power,[3] as formerly the people that survived of them that came forth from Egypt was guided into the land by him who took the name of Jesus (Joshua), who was formerly called Oshea.

CXXXIII

1. And although these and the other such like strange and marvellous things have happened to you, and have

[1] *the tabernacle of witness.*—J. appears to use this phrase as a synonym for the ark, which alone is mentioned in the Heb. or LXX. of 1 Sam. 6 *sqq.* If so, his intution, at any rate, was right, for the Heb. term means 'tent of Meeting', *i.e.* the place where the LORD manifested his glory to His worshippers, which was the mercy-seat of the ark. But perhaps 'tabernacle of witness' is a copyist's error for the less common 'ark of witness' (Ex. 25. 22).

[2] lxxv. 1 note.

[3] *by the name of power.*—J. seems to have been influenced by the Jewish title *ha-Gebûrah* 'the Power', or 'the Majesty', designating God.

been seen of you, each in its own time, you are convicted by the prophets, even after Moses' warnings, of having gone so far as to sacrifice your own children to demons,[1] and of having, in addition to all this, dared so much against Christ, and still do dare—for all which God grant that you may receive mercy from God and His Christ, and be saved. 2. For God, being aware beforehand that you would do all this, uttered a curse by the prophet Isaiah to this effect: *Woe to their soul. They have counselled an evil counsel against themselves, saying: Let us bind the righteous because he is inconvenient to us. Therefore shall they eat the fruit of their works. Woe to the lawless man. Evils shall meet him in accordance with the works of his hands. My people, your exactors glean you, and the tax-gatherers shall lord it over you.* 3. *My people, they that call you happy deceive you, and trouble the path of your ways. But now [shall the Lord rise up for judgment[2] and] shall set His people for judgment, and the Lord Himself shall come for judgment with the elders of the people and its rulers. But as for you, why did ye set my vineyard on fire, and why was the plunder of the poor in your houses? As for you, why do ye injure my people, and why did ye put the face of the poor to shame?*[3] 4. And again the same prophet spake to the same effect in another place: *Woe to them who draw their sins as with a long rope, and their iniquities as with a cow-hide chariot trace;*[4] *who say, Let His speed draw near, and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel come, that we may know it.*

[1] See xix. 6.

[2] The eye of J. or his copyist, evidently passed from κρίσιν to κρίσιν.

[3] Isa. 3. 9-15.

[4] So Ottley, comparing *Iliad*, iii. 375.

Woe to them that say evil is good and good evil; that set light as darkness, and darkness as light; that set bitter as sweet and sweet as bitter. Woe to them that are understanding in their own eyes, and knowing in their own sight. 5. *Woe to them among you that are strong, that drink the wine, and your nobles, and they that mix the strong drink; that justify the godless for gifts, and take away justice from the righteous. Therefore, even as a reed shall be burned by a coal of fire, and shall be burnt up by a burning flame, their root shall be as down, and their flower shall go up as dust. For they desired not the Law of the Lord of Sabaoth, but provoked the utterance of the Lord, the Holy One of Israel. And the Lord of Sabaoth was wroth in anger, and put forth His hands upon them, and smote them, and was indignant against the mountains, and their carcases were set in the midst like dung on the road. And at all these things they turned not back, but their hand was still high.*[1] 6. For still, of a truth, is your hand high to do evil, because though ye have slain Christ even so ye do not *repent, but you hate and murder us also, who by Him* have believed the God and Father of the universe, as often as you get authority;[2] and without cessation do ye utter a curse[3] against Him Himself and them who are of Him, though we all pray on behalf of you,[4] and in fact on behalf of all men, as we were taught by our Christ and Lord to do. For He charged us to pray even on behalf of our enemies, and to love them that hate us, and to bless them that curse us.[5]

[1] Isa. 5. 18-25. [2] *as often as you get authority.*—xiv. 4.

[3] *utter a curse.*—xvi. 4 note.

[4] *though we all pray on behalf of you.*—xxxv. 8; xcvi. 3. Probably J. is thinking especially of public prayer. In the great prayer of Clem. Rom. lix-lxiv special mention is made of the heathen rulers.

[5] A mixture of Matt. 5. 44; Lk. 6. 27 *sq.*

CXXXIV

1. If therefore His own precepts and those of the prophets disquiet you, it is better for you to follow God rather than your unintelligent and blind teachers, for they still permit you to have four and even five wives apiece,[1] and if a man see a woman of fair countenance he may lust after her—relating the practice of Jacob, who was also Israel, and the other patriarchs, and affirming that they who practise suchlike things do no evil, such poor and senseless creatures are they! 2. For, as I have already said, dispensations of great mysteries were performed in each action of that nature. For in the marriages of Jacob a kind of dispensation and prediction was performed, I would say, in order that you might recognize even in them that your teachers have always looked not at all unto the more divine purpose for which each action took place, but rather unto what lies grovelling on the very ground, and to the natural passions of corruption. Attend therefore to what I say. 3. The marriages of Jacob were types[2] of the act that was to be completed by

[1] *four or five wives apiece.*—See cxli. 4. Josephus says, 'It is an ancient practice for us to have many wives at the same time', and Herod the Great had nine (*Antt.* xvii. i. 2. § 14; 3, § 19). But even in the Talmud monogamy is regarded as the normal state of things, though theoretically polygamy is not ruled out. 'While one rabbi says that a man may take as many wives as he can support—Raba in *Yeb.* 65a—it was recommended that no one should marry more than four women—*ibid.* 44a' (*Jew. Enc.* x. 121). Western Jews have been monogamists since the time of R. Gershom ben Judah, who summoned a synod at Mainz about A.D. 1000 and prohibited polygamy. Probably all oriental Jews are monogamists at the present time, notwithstanding the dictum of Maimonides (A.D. 1135-1204), 'A man may marry even a hundred wives, either at once or one after another' (*Hilk. Ishuth,* xiv. 3).

[2] The marriages of Jacob were types. cxl. 1; cxli. 4. Similarly Iren. *Adv. Haer.* IV. xxxv. 3 (xxi. 3). For a modern treatment of the subject on not dissimilar lines, see Jukes, *Types of Genesis,* Part vi., 1885, pp. 334-337.

Christ. For it was not right[1] that Jacob should marry two sisters at the same time. So he serves Laban for his daughters, and when he was deceived about the younger he served another seven years. Now Leah is your people and the Synagogue; but Rachel is our Church. And Christ still serves for these, and for His servants that are in both. 4. For since Noah gave to his two sons the seed of the third for bondage to them, Christ has now come to restore again the two free children, and also the bondservants who are among them, deeming all who keep His commandments worthy of the same blessing even as all who were born to Jacob from the free and from the bondservants became his sons, and received equal honour. Yet a prediction was made of what each would be in rank, and in God's foreknowledge.[2]

Jacob served Laban for his spotted and speckled sheep. Christ served His service even as far as the cross, for men of various colours and looks out of every nation, purchasing them by blood and the mystery of the cross. Leach's eyes were weak, and, in truth, very weak are the eyes of your souls. Rachel stole the gods of Laban, and hid them until this present day, and similarly for us have our ancestral and material gods perished. 6. All the time was Jacob hated by his brother. And now are we, and the Lord Himself, hated by you and by all others whatsoever, though by nature all are brethren. Jacob was surnamed Israel; and it has been proved that Israel is also Christ, who is Jesus and rightly holds that name.[3]

[1] *it was not right.*—It was not expressly forbidden till the Law, Lev. 18. 18, but it was contrary to the sanction of custom and nature (*οὐ θεμιτόν*). See also cxli. 4.

[2] Gen. 49.

[3] This paragraph sums up statements which J. has expounded again and again.

CXXXV

1. When the Scripture says: *I am the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel, who showed forth Israel your king,*[1] will ye not understand in truth Christ the everlasting King? Moreover you are aware that Jacob, the son of Isaac, was never king. And therefore the Scripture, when again explaining to us whom it calls king by the name of Jacob and Israel, said thus: 2. *Jacob is My servant, I will help him: and Israel is My chosen, My soul shall receive him. I have set my spirit upon him, and he shall bring forth judgement to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, neither shall his voice be heard without. A bruised reed he shall not crush, and smoking flax he shall not quench; until he brings out victory, he shall take up judgement, and he shall not be broken, until he set judgement on the earth. And on his name shall Gentiles hope.*[2] 3. Do then they who are of the Gentiles hope on the patriarch Jacob, and not on Christ, and do you yourselves? As therefore he calls Christ Israel and Jacob, so also we, quarried from the bowels of Christ,[3] are the true race of Israel.

But let us pay heed rather to the spoken word itself. 4. *And I will lead out,*[4] it says, *the seed that is from Jacob and from Judah; and it shall inherit My holy mountain, and My chosen ones and my servants shall inherit it, and shall dwell there. And there shall be in*

[1] Isa. 43. 15. The LXX. has here confused *bôrē'* ('creator') with *mar'eh* ('showing'), and has taken 'your king' in apposition with 'Israel', instead of with the subject, *i.e.* 'the LORD'. Hence J. regards 'Israel' here as a name of Christ. See xxxiv. 6 note.

[2] Isa. 42. 1-4.

[3] *quarried from the bowels of Christ.*—The mixture of metaphors is borrowed from Isa. 51. 1 *sq.* Not Abraham but Christ is the real origin of the Lord's own people. xliv. 1 note; cxxv. 5.

[4] *I will lead out.*—See cxxxvi. 1.

the forest folds of sheep, and the valley of Achor shall be to My people who have sought Me a resting place for their herds. But as for you, who forsake Me and forget My holy mountain, and prepare a table for the demons, and fill mixed wine for the demons—I will deliver you unto the sword. Ye all shall fall in slaughter, because I called you and ye obeyed not; I spake and ye disobeyed; and ye did that which is evil before Me, and chose what I willed not.[1] 5. These then are the words of Scripture. But you yourselves perceive that this seed of Jacob which is here spoken of is of another kind, for none of you would suppose it was spoken about your people. For it is not granted that they who are of the seed of Jacob can leave a right of entrance to them that are born of Jacob, nor that He, when upbraiding the people as being unworthy of the inheritance, should again promise it to them, as though He received them. 6. But even as the prophet says there: *And now, thou house of Israel, come and let us walk in the light of the Lord. For He has dismissed His people, the house of Jacob; because their place was filled, as at the first, with soothsayings and divinations.*[2] So also here must we perceive two seeds of Judah, and two races, as two houses of Jacob, the one born of flesh and blood, and the other of faith and spirit.[3]

CXXXVI

1. For you see how He now speaks unto the people, after saying higher up: *Even as a berry shall be found in a cluster, and they shall say: Injure it not, for a blessing is in it, so will I do for the sake of him that*

[1] Isa. 65. 9-12. [2] Isa. 2. 5 *sq.* [3] *Cf.* John 1. 13.

serveth Me. For His sake I will not destroy all[1]—then He afterwards continues: *And I will lead out the (seed that is) of Jacob and of Judah.*[2] It is therefore clear that if He is thus angry with them, and threatens to leave very few over, He promises to lead others out who shall dwell in His mountain. 2. Now these are they whom He said He would sow and beget.[3] For you, when He calls, do not suffer Him, nor hear Him when He speaks. But you have even done that which is evil before the Lord.[4] For the excess of your wickedness is even hating the Righteous, whom ye slew,[5] and them that have received from Him power to be what they are, pious and righteous and lovers of mankind. Therefore, *Woe to their soul,* saith the Lord, *because they have taken evil counsel against themselves, saying: Let us take away the righteous, because he is inconvenient to us.*[6] 3. For you indeed did not sacrifice to Baal, as your fathers did; nor in groves and on high places did you offer cakes to the host of heaven,[7] but (you were threatened) because you did not receive His Christ. For he that is ignorant of Him is ignorant also of the counsel of God, and he who treats Him contemptuously, and hates Him, plainly also hates and treats contemptuously Him who sent Him. And if any man believes not on Him, he does not believe the proclamations of the prophets who preached the glad tidings of Him, and proclaimed Him unto all.[8]

[1] Isa. 65. 8.
[2] *Ibid. v.* 9. See cxxxv. 4.
[3] Jer. 31. 27; Ezek. 36. 11.
[4] Isa. 65. 12.
[5] Jas. 5. 6. *Cf.* xvi. 4 note.
[6] Isa. 3. 9 *sq.* LXX., as J. points out in cxxxvii. 3, where see note.
[7] Jer. 7. 18.
[8] *Cf.* John 5. 23, 46.

CXXXVII

1. Pray then, Brethren, say no evil against Him who was crucified, nor mock at His stripes, by which all may be healed, as we also were healed. For it were well if you obeyed the words of (Scripture)[1] and were circumcised from the hardness of your heart, not the circumcision which you already have according to your ingrained opinion, for this was given you for a sign[2] and not for a work of righteousness, as the words of Scripture compel us to hold. 2. Agree with us therefore and do not revile the Son of God, nor, obeying Pharisaic teachers, ever make sport of the King of Israel, as the rulers of your synagogues teach you, after the prayer.[3] For if he that toucheth them that are not acceptable to God is as he that toucheth the apple of God's eye,[4] how much more he that lays hold of His Beloved. And that this is He, has been shown sufficiently. 3. As they were silent I said: I will now, my Friends, also adduce the Scriptures as the Seventy interpreted them. For when I stated them before as you yourselves have them I was making trial of you, and your disposition. For in adducing the Scripture which says: *Woe to them, because they have taken evil counsel against themselves, saying,* I added, as the Seventy interpreted it, *Let us take the righteous away, because he is inconvenient to us.*[5] Though at the beginning of our discourse[6] I also stated it

[1] *the words (of Scripture).*—cxlii. 1.

[2] *for a sign, viz.* of spiritual circumcision, and also of nationality. xix. 2 note.

[3] *after their prayer.*—xvi. 4 note.

[4] Zech. 2. 8.

[5] Isa. 3. 9 *sq.* See cxxxvi. 2.

[6] *at the beginning of our discourse.*—According to J. the difference is only that of 'slay' (cxxxvi. 2, and here) and 'bind' (xvii. 2; cxxxiii. 2); but the LXX. varies much more than that from the

as you wish it to be said: *saying, Let us bind the righteous, because he is inconvenient to us.*

4. But you were busy about other things, and seem to me not to have listened to my words with due attention. But since the day is already coming to an end—for the sun is already near setting—I will add one thing more to what I have already said, and then cease. I have indeed already spoken of it in my earlier utterances,[1] yet it seems right that I should explain it again.

CXXXVIII

1. You know then, Gentlemen, I said, that it is said of God in Isaiah with reference to Jerusalem, *At the time of Noah's Flood I saved thee.*[2] Now what God said was this, that the mystery of men being saved took place at the time of the Flood. For righteous Noah with the other human beings at the time of the Flood, namely his wife and his three children and his sons' wives, these all being eight in number,[3] were a symbol of the day that is indeed eighth in number,[4] in which our Christ appeared as risen from the dead, but yet has ever been first in

Hebrew. Perhaps Wisd. 2. 12, 'Let us lie in wait for the righteous man, because he is of disservice to us', had something to do with J.'s doubt about the Greek text. Tert. (*Adv. Marc.* iii. 22) reads 'take' (*auferamus*). See Introd., p. xxxiv.

[1] *in my earlier utterances.*—The reference to 'the eighth day' in the next section suggests that J. is thinking of xxiv. 1.

[2] *At the time of Noah's Flood I saved thee.*—Isa. 54. 8 mentions God's deliverance of Israel, and *v.* 9 speaks of the waters of Noah. J. seems to have used a MS. of the LXX in which the scribe had passed from one phrase to the other, omitting words between. Or perhaps the word 'overflowing' in *v.* 8 may have suggested to some readers the Flood, which is actually mentioned in *v.* 9. J. can hardly have had Wisd. 10. 4 in mind here, but see the next section.

[3] 1 Peter 3. 20.

[4] xxiv. 1; *cf.* xli, 4.

power. 2. For Christ, being the Firstborn of every creature, has also become again the head of another race,[1] which was begotten anew of Him by water and faith and wood, which held the mystery of the cross, even as Noah also was saved in wood, when he was borne upon the waters with his family.[2] When therefore the prophet says *In the time of Noah I saved thee,* as I said before, he is speaking to the people that was similarly faithful with God, and had these symbols. Moreover Moses having a rod in his hand led your people through the sea. 3. But you suppose that He spoke only to your nation, or your land. Yet in that the whole earth, as the Scripture says,[3] was flooded, and the water was lifted up fifteen cubits above all mountains, it is clear that God did not say this to your land, but to the people that obey Him, for whom He also prepared beforehand a rest in Jerusalem,[4] as has been proved aforetime by all the symbols at the time of the Flood. I say that by water and faith and wood they that prepare themselves beforehand and repent of their sins shall escape the judgment of God that is to come upon them.

CXXXIX

1. Moreover another mystery was predicted by what was done in the time of Noah, of which you are not aware. It is this. In the blessings wherewith Noah blesses his two sons, he also curses his son's son.[5] For

[1] *the head of another race.*—xix. 4 note, and xlviii. 4 note.
[2] The words here recall Wisd. 10. 4.
[3] Gen. 7. 19 *sq.*
[4] *a rest in Jerusalem.*—In the Millennium, lxxxi. 4; cxxxix. 4; and so Iren. *Adv. Haer.* V. xxx. 4.
[5] Gen. 9. 25-27. J. notes that Ham himself is not cursed. Iren. *Preaching* § 20 says the contrary. See J. A. Robinson's note.

the spirit of prophecy was not going to curse the son, when he had been blessed along with the others by God,[1] but since the punishment of the sin was to be throughout the whole race of the son that laughed at the nakedness of his father, He has made the curse start from the son's son.[2] 2. Now in what he said he foretold that the posterity of Shem should hold the possessions and dwellings of Canaan, and again that the posterity of Japhet should hold those which the posterity of Shem had received from the sons of Canaan and had held, spoiling the posterity of Shem, even as they themselves had taken them from the sons of Canaan and had held them.[3] 3. Now learn that this has indeed taken place. For you, who derive your race from Shem, entered, according to the will of God, on the land of the sons of Canaan, and held it in possession. And it is clear that the sons of Japhet,[4] in accordance with the judgment of God, themselves came upon you, and took away your land and held it in possession. Now all this is written as follows: *But Noah became sober after his wine, and knew what his younger son had done to him. And he said: Cursed be Canaan the servant; he shall be house-servant to his brethren. And he said: Blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. The Lord enlarge Japhet, and let him dwell in the houses of Shem, and let Canaan be his servant.*[5] 4. Therefore as two peoples were blessed, those from Shem and from Japhet, and those from Shem were foreknown as the first

[1] *with the others by God.*—So R. Judah (ben Ilai, *c.* A.D. 130-160) in *Bresh. R.* on Gen. 9. 25.

[2] *from the son's son.*—R. Nehemiah (*c.* A.D. 130-160) says that Canaan told Ham (*ibid*), and so also Origen on the passage (*Eclogai on Gen., Lommatsch,* viii, p. 66).

[3] *and had held them. Cf.* Iren. *Preach.* § 21.

[4] *the sons of Japhet, i.e.* the Romans.

[5] Gen. 9. 25-27.

to hold the houses of Canaan, and again those from Japhet were foretold as about to receive from them in succession the same possessions, and as the one people which was descended fro mCanaan was handed over to the two peoples in bondage, Christ came, in accordance with the power of the all-sovereign Father given to Him, calling men to friendship and blessing and repentance and family life, which is to take place in that same land of all the saints, of which He has promised them the possession, as has been already shown.

5. Wherefore men from every quarter, whether bond or free, believing on Christ, and knowing the truth that lies in His words and those of His prophets, are aware that they will be together with Him in that land, and will inherit the incorruptible things of eternity.

CXL

1. Wherefore Jacob also, as I have already said,[1] being himself also a type of Christ, married also the two bondmaidens of his two free wives, and of them he had sons, to indicate beforehand that Christ should receive to Himself all the posterity even of Canaan that are among the race of Japhet as well as them that are free, and should consider them children and co-heirs. And these we are, though you cannot understand it, because you cannot drink of the living fountain of God, but rather of the broken cisterns that cannot hold water, as the Scripture saith.[2] 2. Now they are broken cisterns that hold not water which your own teachers dug for you, as the Scripture expressly says, *teaching for doctrines*,

[1] See cxxxiv. 3 as regards Jacob's marriage to Leah and Rachel. Here the reference is to Bilhah and Zilpah.
[2] Jer. 2. 13.

commandments of men.[1] And besides all this they delude both themselves and you, supposing that assuredly to all who are of the carnal seed of Abraham,[2] though they be sinners and unbelievers and disobedient towards God, the everlasting kingdom will be given, ideas which the Scriptures prove have no reality. 3. For surely Isaiah would not have spoken as follows: *And except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a seed, we had become as Sodom and Gomorrah,*[3] nor Ezekiel: *Even though Noah and Jacob*[4] *and Daniel should demand sons or daughters, they shall not be given them. For neither father for son, nor son for father, but each shall perish by his own sin, and each shall be saved by his own practice of righteousness.*[5] And again Isaiah: *They shall see the limbs of the transgressors. Their worm shall be brought to an end, and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be a spectacle for all flesh.*[6]

4. And our Lord would not have said, in accordance with the will of the Father and the Master of the universe, who sent Him: *They shall come from West and East, and shall recline at table with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven. But the sons of the kingdom shall be cast out even into the outer darkness.*[7]

It is not by the fault of God that they who are foreknown as to become unrighteous, whether they be angels or men, do become worthless. But each by his own fault is such as he will hereafter be shown to be. This I have already proved in my earlier statements.[8]

[1] Isa. 29. 13.
[2] *to all who are of the carnal seed of Abraham.*—xliv. 1 note.
[3] Isa. 1. 9.
[4] *Jacob, not* 'Job'. xliv. 2 note.
[5] A mixture of Ezek. 14. 14, 16; 18. 4, 20; Deut. 24. 16.
[6] Isa. 66. 24; xliv. 3.
[7] Matt. 8. 11 *sq.* with Lk. 13. 28 *sq.*
[8] See lxxxviii. 4; cii. 4.

CXLI

1. Now that you may not have any excuse for saying that it was necessary for Christ to be crucified, or, again, that it was necessary for the transgressors to belong to your race, and that it could not have been otherwise, I have already forestalled. For I said briefly, that although God desired angels and men to follow His will, He desired to make them persons possessed of Freewill to practise righteousness, and possessed of the sense of Reason, that they might know by Whom they have come into being, and because of Whom they exist, though once they were not, and of a Law, that they should be judged by Him, if they act contrary to sound reason. And so we, whether men or angels, shall be convicted because of what we are, if we have done evil, unless we have repented first. 2. But if the word of God foretells that assuredly such persons, both angels and men, are to be punished, He said this beforehand because He already knew that they would become unchangeably evil; not however because God made them so. So that, if they repent, all who wish can obtain the mercy that comes from God, and the word says beforehand that they are blessed, saying: *Blessed is he to whom the Lord imputeth not sin.*[1] That is to say, that when one repents for his sins he receives remission of his sins from God. Yet not, as you and others like you[2] in this respect deceive yourselves, who say that even though they be sinners and yet know God, the Lord will not impute to them sin. 3. Now as witnesses of this we have the first transgression of David that took place because of his

[1] Ps. 32. 2.
[2] *others like you.*—Especially Gnostics of the antinomian kind.

boasting,[1] which was forgiven when he wept and wailed[2] in the way that is written.[3] But if to such a man forgiveness was not given before he repented, but only when this great King, and Anointed one, and Prophet, thus wept and acted, how can the unclean and utterly abandoned, except they wail and lament and repent, have any hope that the Lord will not impute to them sin? 4. Now this first act of transgression by David with the wife of Uriah shows, Gentlemen, I said, it was not as committing fornication that the patriarchs had many wives, but that a certain Dispensation[4] and mysteries of all kinds were being performed by them. Since if it had been permitted to take wives,[5] whom each man would, and as each would, and as many as he would, as the men of your race do in every land[6] wherever they sojourn or are sent, taking women under the name of marriage, much more would David have been permitted to do this.

5. When I had said this, my dear friend, Marcus Pompeius,[7] I ceased speaking.

[1] *the first transgression of David that took place because of his boasting.*—So we find in the Talmud (T.B. *Sanhed.* 107a) 'David, King of Israel, brought himself into temptation and fell. He said to God, O Ruler of the universe, why do they say, The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, and do not say, The God of David? He said, Because they were proved of Me, and thou hast not been proved of Me. He said to God, O Ruler of the universe, Examine me and prove me, for it is said, Examine me and prove me, O LORD, and prove me, *etc.* (Ps. 26. 2). He said, I will prove thee, and do thee a thing which I did not require of them, and behold I require of thee that I will prove thee in the matter of unchastity.' References to David's self-conceit in view of possible temptation are found also in *Midr. Tehillim* on Pss. 17. 3 Buber, p. 130; 26. 2. Buber, p. 216.

[2] *wept and wailed.*—This is a part of J.'s ideal repentance, xc. 5.

[3] 2 Sam. 12. 13.

[4] *Dispensation* xxx. 3 note.

[5] *wives,* cxxxiv. 3 note.

[6] *as the men of your race do in every land.*—cxxxiv. 1 note.

[7] *Marcus Pompeius.*—viii. 3 Introd., p. xvi.

CXLII

1. Now Trypho paused somewhat, and then said: You see that it was not by design that we fell into a discussion over these matters. And I acknowledge that I have been extraordinarily charmed with our intercourse, and I think that these are of like opinion with myself. For we have found more than we expected, or than it was even possible for us to expect. And if we could do this more frequently we should receive more benefit, while we examine the very words (of Scripture)[1] themselves. But since, he added, you are putting off to sea, and expect to begin your voyage every day, do not scruple to think of us as your friends when you take your departure.

2. As regards myself, I replied, I could wish, if I remained here, that such a discussion should take place every day. But as I am expecting to embark at once, if God permit and help me, I urge you to enter on this greatest of all contests for your own salvation, and to endeavour to prefer to your own teachers the Christ of Almighty God.

3. After which they departed, finally praying for my deliverance both from the dangers of the sea, and from all ill.

And I prayed also for them, saying: I can make no greater prayer for you, Gentlemen, than this, that having come to know that happiness is given to every man through this Way,[2] you may do in all respects the same as we, acknowledging that the object of our worship is the Christ of God.[3]

[1] *the very words* (of Scripture).—cxxxvii. 1.
[2] *this Way.—cf.* xliv. 4.
[3] The text of the last sentence is uncertain. Many emend the last clause to 'that Jesus is the Christ of God.'

INDICES

Note.—Full indices are to be found in almost every edition of the *Dialogue*. The Indices here refer almost entirely to the Notes.

I

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